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CONFIDENTIAL.

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PART II.

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

FRANCE AND MOROCCO.

1885-86.

9

RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

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CONFIDENTIAL.

Further Correspondence respecting France and Morocco.

PART II.

No. 1.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 1.)
Foreign Office, January 2, 1885.

Sir,

I TRANSMIT to you herewith an extract from the French "Journal Officiel,"* giving copy of a Decree appointing M. Féraud, now French Consul-General at Tripoli, to be French Minister at Tangier in the place of M. Ordega.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 2.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received January 10.)

(No. 3.)
Tangier, January 1, 1885.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 49 of the 12th ultimo, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the appointment of M. Ordega to Bucharest is confirmed, and that M. Féraud, Consul-General at Tripoli, succeeds him as Minister here.

M. Ordega has, I understand, requested the French Government to be allowed to remain at Tangier until the middle of February, to avoid the cold weather in Wallachia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 3.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received January 10.)

(No. 4. Confidential.)
Tangier, January 1, 1885.

My Lord,

THE Spanish Minister, M. Diosdado, acquaints me that in the course of conversation with M. Ordega the latter informed him that he understands the Sultan intends to send the Governor of Oochda, Cid Abdelmalek Ben-el-Hashmy, and his Shereefian Majesty's brother, Mulai Arafa, on an Embassy to Paris.

M. Ordega observed to M. Diosdado that he did not know what might be the object of the mission, but as Kaid Abdelmalek is the Governor of the frontier town of Oochda, and had lately been engaged with Mulai Arafa in visiting the tribes dwelling on the frontier, and as these personages had also entered Algeria and communicated with the

* See Confidential Paper No. 5123, p. 141.

authorities there, he thought it possible the Sultan might have the intention of communicating with the Government at Paris regarding some rectification of the frontier, but that he had not received any communication from the Moorish Government on the subject.

M. Ordega observed that Mulai Arafa was an intelligent Prince, and had been much struck with the prosperous state of the frontier tribes dwelling in Algeria as contrasted with those of Morocco, and with the advantages to be derived from railroads.

Cid Mohamed Ben Suleyman, one of the Sultan's Private Secretaries, who is still at Tangier upon the Commission for claims of foreign subjects, informs me that neither Cid Mohamed Bargash, before his departure for Rabat, nor he himself, had received any communication from the Court regarding the alleged intention of the Sultan to send an Embassy to Paris, and that he did not believe it was probable.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 4.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received January 14.)

(No. 5.)
Tangier, January 8, 1885.

My Lord,

IN a leading article of the "Standard" of the 26th ultimo, it was stated that I had been requested by the Sultan of Morocco to transmit to His Majesty copies of the Protocols of the Conference at Berlin.

In the "Réveil du Maroc" of Tangier this article is commented on by the editor, who no doubt has received as usual his inspiration from M. Ordega.

As it is not improbable that this article in the "Réveil" may be alluded to by French and other foreign journals, I think it right that I should inform your Lordship that neither the Sultan nor any one of his officers has requested me to give them information regarding the proceedings of the Conference at Berlin, nor have I ever mentioned the subject either to Cid Mohamed Bargash or any other Moorish officer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 5.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received January 21.)

(No. 7.)
Tangier, January 14, 1885.

My Lord,

I INCLOSE a telegram which has been published in English papers, and I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the Jews have not asked for the protection of M. Ordega, nor is there any apprehension of a massacre of the Jews in this town.

The telegram was, I believe, sent by Mr. Cohen, the editor of the "Réveil du Maroc," who acts under the direction of M. Ordega in such matters.

The Jewish deputation from Demnat lately applied to M. Ordega to use his good offices with the Sultan on their behalf, and I understand M. Ordega referred to the Government at Paris for instructions before he addressed a note to the Moorish Government on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure in No. 5.

Telegram, dated Tangier, January 8, 1885.

THE Jews have demanded the protection of the French Minister, M. Ordega, in view of the threats to which they are subjected by the Moors, who announce a general massacre of Jews. The French Minister has offered to intercede in their favour in order that the authorities may take measures to hinder any aggression on the part of the mob.

No. 6.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received January 21.)

(No. 8.)
Tangier, January 14, 1885.

My Lord,

I AM informed that the Sultan will proceed shortly to Morocco, and after remaining a few weeks at that city, His Majesty will march with an army to Soos to chastise the rebellious tribes in that country.

The insurrection in Soos districts was fomented by an emissary sent by Hadj Abdes Salam, the Shereef of Wazan, at the instigation of M. Ordega last year, when an attempt was made to create a rebellion in the northern provinces with the view of bringing forward Hadj Abd es Salam as a pretender to the throne.

One of the emissaries of the Shereef, named Khamleesh, remained with the powerful Chief of Ait Amram, in Soos, Cid Hosein el Hashem, for three months, and was in constant communication with the French Consul in Mogador.

On referring to this subject in conversation with my Spanish and Italian colleagues, they severally assured me they have proofs that M. Ordega had conspired with the Shereef of Wazan to foment the rebellion in Soos.

The disturbed state of that country has no doubt prevented the Sultan from carrying out his intention, as advised by Her Majesty's Government, of opening a port on the Soos coast.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 7.

Sir J. Pauncefote to Baron H. de Worms.

Foreign Office, January 31, 1885.

Sir,

I AM directed by Earl Granville to inform you, with reference to a telegram lately published in the English newspapers to the effect that the Jews at Tangier had demanded the protection of the French Minister, M. Ordega, in view of the threats to which they were subjected by the Moors, that Her Majesty's Minister in Morocco contradicts this report, and explains that there is not any apprehension of a massacre of the Jews in the town of Tangier. He adds that the Jewish deputation from Demnat lately applied to M. Ordega to use his good offices with the Sultan on their behalf, and that he understands that M. Ordega referred to his Government for instructions on the subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.

No. 8.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received February 3.)

(No. 12.)
Tangier, January 27, 1885.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the French iron-clad "Dévastation" arrived at this port on the 25th instant from Brest, and departed this day, conveying the French Minister, M. Ordega, to France.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 9.

Mr. de Bunsen to Earl Granville.—(Received February 3.)

(No. 13. Confidential.)
Madrid, January 30, 1885.

My Lord,

IN the course of a conversation which I held with the Minister of State this afternoon, as I had the honour to report to your Lordship in my despatch No. 3, Africa,

of this day's date, his Excellency took occasion to state at some length his views as to the future policy of Spain in Morocco.

At present, Señor Elduayen said, all the Powers interested in that country, with the exception of France, were agreed in desiring the maintenance of the *status quo*. A time would come, however, when internal feuds or religious fanaticism, encouraged, doubtless, by foreign intrigue, would bring about the downfall of the Sultan and the disruption of his Empire. When that crisis came, his Excellency hoped and believed it would be found that the interests of Great Britain would best be served by a close alliance with Spain, which would enable the latter Power to occupy the country to the exclusion of a more powerful competitor. England would never allow a great foreign Power to establish itself on the southern shore of the Straits, and the independence of Spain would be seriously threatened were the French to become her neighbours to the south as well as to the north. On the other hand, no British interest would be compromised by the stepping in of a weak Power like Spain, which would leave England with the undisputed command of the Straits.

Such being his ideas with regard to the future, Señor Elduayen had felt convinced that the Protectorate declared by Spain over the coast-line between Capes Bogador and Blanco would be regarded with favour by Her Majesty's Government. Spain would offer no obstacle to British policy, and her position on the North-west Coast of Africa might be regarded as analogous to that now being assumed, as it seemed, by Italy on the Red Sea. The Alps and the Pyrenees afforded no sufficient protection to the Italian and Spanish Peninsulas, which were in constant danger from the overwhelming pressure of the great continental Powers lying to the north of them. England, then, was the natural ally both of Spain and Italy, and the extension of whose influence in Africa could only conduce to her advantage.

I have, &c.
(Signed) MAURICE DE BUNSEN.

No. 10.

Consul-General Playfair to Earl Granville.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 1.) *Algiers, April 3, 1885.*

My Lord,

IN my despatch No. 5 of the 24th May, 1884, I alluded to the rumours then in circulation, that France had the intention of assisting upon a rectification of the frontier between Algeria and Morocco.

M. Feraud, the newly appointed French Minister at Tangier, will soon proceed on a mission to the capital, and I have no doubt that he will seize that occasion for endeavouring to effect this long cherished scheme; in any case it will never be abandoned, but will be revived whenever a favourable opportunity may occur.

Under these circumstances I think it right to inform your Lordship of what really is the nature of the rectification, and the reasons which induce the French to attach so much importance to it.

I inclose copy of a Map on which it is clearly shown. The actual frontier was fixed by the Commission of 1845 at the Oued Kiss, whence it proceeds in a south-easterly direction towards Sifisifa, beyond which it has never been supposed to extend.

To the west of the Kiss, and separated from it only by 6 miles of sandy beach, is the historic river, Malua or Molocath, the modern Moulouia, which enters the sea immediately south of the Zaffarine Islands; these are 2 miles distant from the coast.

This river has been from the earliest ages the recognized frontier between Mauritania Cæsariensis, the present western portion of Algeria, and Mauritania Tingitana, the Empire of Morocco. Even the Arab historians so regarded it. Mohammed-en-Nasri, in his history of North Africa, says:—

"Western Maghreb commences at Oudjeda, and ends at Asfi, a city on the ocean, Ibn Khaldoun in one place gives Oudjeda as the limit, and in another the Moulouia."

This river rises between the 32nd and 33rd degrees of north latitude, where is the watershed of the country. Near this point the Oued Guir also has its origin; it flows in an opposite direction towards the south-east, and joins the Zouzfana a little north of Igli; these two rivers then become the Msaoura.

In the upper part of its course the Oued Guir flows in a narrow rocky bed, but numerous barrages utilize its waters, and admit of the irrigation of its banks. Below Djerf-et-Torba it widens and becomes a considerable river, flowing through a rich and

fertile country, with an admirably designed system of canalization. The climate is fine in winter, but extremely unhealthy in summer, during which season even the natives of the country avoid the neighbourhood of the river.

Little or nothing is known of the greater part of this country; it was, however, traversed by the expedition of General Wimpffen against the Oulad Sidi Cheikh in 1870.

I have marked in red ink on the Map the route taken by this column. After several skirmishes he had a severe engagement with the Douï-Menia near Bahariat, in which the latter were completely routed, accepted all his conditions, and delivered eleven of their principal men as hostages.

This done, he returned in the direction of Aïn Chair. He surrounded that oasis, and drove all the inhabitants within the walls of their town; but he abstained from ordering the assault, and he accepted the submission of the inhabitants without permitting his men to enter the town.

Should the French obtain the desired rectification, they will get possession of two very rich and fertile regions, and three most important strategical positions.

1. Figuig, whence in five days they could reach Tafilalat, a wealthy town in which many relatives of the Emperor reside, and whence they would command all the southern part of Morocco.

2. From the Moulouia, near Za, they could march to Fez in four or five days, through a country well supplied with water, fuel and forage, passing Taza, Kardousa, and Mekinatza.

3. From the mouth of the Moulouia they could, after two or three days' march through an easy country, enter the rich districts of Kabdana and Glaïa, as well as command the Spanish "presidios" of the Zaffarine Islands and Mellila.

It will be seen, therefore, that this "rectification of frontier" is as important from a French point of view as the occupation of Herat would be to Russia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. L. PLAYFAIR.

No. 11.

*Earl Granville to Sir R. Morier.**

(No. 34.) *Foreign Office, April 17, 1885.*

Sir,

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your information, copy of a despatch from Consul-General Playfair respecting the question of the frontier between Algeria and Morocco.†

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 12.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received May 4.)

(No. 34.) *Tangier, April 25, 1885.*

My Lord,

THE French Minister, M. Feraud, left this day for the Court at Fez. Several military officers and troopers and some scientific gentlemen accompany the Mission, besides the members of the French Legation. M. Feraud takes with him six field guns and four mares,‡ and, it is supposed, other gifts to present to the Sultan.

He volunteered to inform me that he had no demand to put forward, or subject of importance to discuss, adding, "Je vous donne ma parole d'honneur." The chief object of his mission, he said, would be to do away with the erroneous impression which may have been left on the minds of the Sultan and his Ministers by the proceedings of M. Ordega regarding the policy of the French Government, and to assure His Majesty of the friendly feelings which animate them. M. Feraud also held similar language to some of my colleagues.

The foreign Representatives had a meeting last week to discuss what measures should be taken to induce the Moorish Government to construct an iron pier at this port to land passengers and merchandize, as the mole which was built of concrete last year by an incompetent engineer is falling into ruin.

* Also to Sir J. Drummond Hay (No. 20).
† No. 89.
‡ One mare died from injuries on landing.—J. H. D. H.

I suggested to my colleagues that, as M. Feraud was going to the Court, he should be requested by them, as I had been on a past mission, to bring under the notice of the Sultan the deplorable state of the Moorish ports from the absence of landing-places and breakwaters to protect boats disembarking passengers and merchandize.

When the late M. Tissot and I visited the Sultan's Court in 1873 we brought the subject simultaneously under the notice of the late Sultan, Cidi Mohammed, and obtained His Majesty's consent to the propositions we submitted for this and other improvements; but as the condition then made by His Majesty was that the foreign Representatives should in the first place come to a common agreement regarding the extra charges to be made on vessels or merchandize on account of these improvements, and as one of the Representatives would not, at that time, agree to the imposition of any extra charge, the matter was dropped.

All my colleagues at the late meeting, with the exception of the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, who did not feel himself authorized, in the absence of M. Diosdado, assented to the proposition.

It was agreed that we should each address a separate note to the Vizier, expressing our views on this subject, and informing him that we had requested M. Feraud to bring under the notice of the Sultan the necessity of making better provision at the ports for the convenience of shipping and trade. I have the honour to transmit a translation of the letter I have addressed the Vizier, and of its inclosures.

M. Feraud has promised also to support the applications made to lay cables between Gibraltar and Tangier, and Tarifa and Tangier, and to dispel the apprehensions of this Government that such concessions would cause France, or any other Power, to demand as a right that telegraphic communications with the interior should consequently be also conceded.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 12.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to the Grand Vizier.

Tanger, le 24 Avril, 1885.

(Traduction.)

DANS le mois de Janvier passé les Représentants avaient adressé à Hadj Mohammed Torres une lettre identique, le priant de soumettre pour la considération de Sa Majesté Cheriffienne leur demande qu'un débarcadère soit construit dans le port de Tanger pour faciliter le transport de marchandises, et que de nouveaux magasins soient bâtis, les magasins actuels étant insuffisants aux besoins du commerce, car les importations et les exportations ont augmenté et continuent à s'augmenter à ce port, et que d'autres mesures, qu'ils ont suggerées, dans l'intérêt du commerce, soient prises.

Nous n'avons reçu aucune réponse à cette communication quoique nous sommes convaincus que Sa Majesté Cheriffienne n'aurait pas perdu de vue une demande faite par tous les Représentants des Puissances amies, qui n'avaient d'autre désir que celui du bien général des dominions de Sa Majesté, et du commerce et de la navigation.

La nécessité de construire un débarcadère à ce port est de toute évidence, car ceux qui ont été construits des fonds du Conseil Sanitaire sont tombés en ruines, n'ayant pas été d'un caractère suffisamment solide, à cause du manque de fonds, et pour d'autres raisons.

Dans l'année 1875 Cid Mohammed Bargash avait adressé, par ordre de Sa Majesté Cheriffienne, une lettre à MM. les Représentants, de laquelle je vous envois ci-inclus un extrait qui touche à ce sujet, par lequel vous verrez que Sa Majesté Cheriffienne par sa sagesse avait accédé à la demande qu'ils avaient faite de construire un môle à Tanger et un brise-lames à Daralbraida. Cid Mohammed Bargash avait prié MM. les Représentants d'étudier la question de la perception des droits additionnels à être imposés sur les navires, les passagers, et les marchandises, et d'obtenir l'agrément de leurs Gouvernements.

Les Représentants nommèrent une Commission pour étudier cette question, mais il n'y avait pas alors un parfait accord au sujet de la manière de percevoir les droits et conséquemment il n'y a pas eu de suite à cette affaire. Heureusement cette différence d'opinion n'existe plus, et tous les Représentants sont animés des meilleurs dispositions pour appuyer toute mesure que Sa Majesté Cheriffienne, dans sa sagesse et dans son désir d'améliorer le bien-être du commerce et de la navigation, et conséquemment du Trésor, décidera d'adopter.

Le Ministre de France part pour la Cour Cheriffienne, et les Représentants désirent

profiter de sa visite, et l'ont prié de soumettre, en leurs noms, à Sa Majesté Cheriffienne, les propositions qu'ils ont à faire à ce sujet, et comme nous avons toute confiance dans sa sagesse, et dans les sentiments amicaux qui l'animent vis-à-vis Sa Majesté Cheriffienne, et le bien-être de ce pays, nous vous prions de faire part à Sa Majesté que tout ce qu'il voudra bien représenter à ce sujet de vive voix ou par écrit sera comme si nous le faisons nous-mêmes.

Après consultation avec des ingénieurs éminents de différentes nations, l'opinion a été émise que le débarcadère doit être construit en fer; c'est plus durable, plus économique, et on n'aura pas les encombrements de sables, qui sont produits par des môles massifs, qui à la fin empêchent les allèges d'approcher.

Nous avons prié M. le Ministre de France de soumettre aussi pour la considération de Sa Majesté Cheriffienne la nécessité urgente d'améliorer l'état du port de Mogador. Nous vous transmettons ci-inclus copie d'une lettre que le Vizir Cid Moussa Ben Ahmed nous avait adressée dans l'année 1295 (1878), nous informant que Sa Majesté Cheriffienne avait accepté le plan qu'on lui avait soumis, à condition qu'on percevra des droits additionnels sur les bâtiments visitant ce port, et Sa Majesté nous invita d'agir avec toute diligence. Cette affaire n'a pas eu de suite pour les mêmes raisons que celles données dans la question des môles à Tanger et à Daralbraida.

Il paraît du rapport qui a été fait par le même ingénieur tout récemment que les frais à encourir pour améliorer l'état du port ne monteront pas à la somme mentionnée dans la lettre du Vizir, Cid Moussa Ben Ahmed.

En conclusion, nous répétons notre conviction que Sa Majesté Cheriffienne est animé, comme l'était Sa Majesté dans les années passées, du vif désir d'améliorer l'état de ses ports pour faciliter les transactions commerciales. Si les désirs exprimés alors par Sa Majesté n'ont pas été mis en exécution la faute n'en est pas à ce Gouvernement.

Les droits de douane sont une des principales sources de revenu de Sa Majesté Cheriffienne et les sommes perçues chaque année montent à une figure très considérable.

Nous ne doutons pas que Sa Majesté Cheriffienne, comme tout autre Souverain ou Gouvernement dans le monde, reconnaîtra que le commerce et la navigation, sur lesquels les taxes et droits sont levés, ont toute raison d'attendre qu'on fasse tout ce qui est raisonnable pour faciliter leurs opérations.

(Signé) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure 2 in No 12.

Cid Mohammed Bargash to the Foreign Representatives in Morocco.

Tanger, le 30 Juin, 1875.

(Traduction.)

O AMIS, ceux d'entre vous qui étaient à Tanger sous le règne de Cidi Mohammed, se rappelleront qu'ils ont demandé, par l'intermédiaire des Ministres de France et d'Angleterre, alors qu'ils se trouvaient à Maroc, auprès de Sa Majesté, la construction d'un môle à Tanger et d'un brise-lames à Daralbaida, pour protéger les bateaux; ainsi que l'établissement d'un câble télégraphique qui partirait de Tanger.

Cidi Mohammed, à qui Dieu fasse miséricorde, étudiait encore ces questions lorsque la mort l'a frappé avant qu'il ait pu prendre une décision.

Aujourd'hui cette demande ayant été renouvelée à notre Maître, Sa Majesté m'a invité à m'entendre avec vous au sujet des avantages qui peuvent en résulter pour le pays et pour le commerce.

Sa Majesté Cheriffienne ayant l'intention de faire tout ce qui peut être utile, en commençant toutefois par le plus nécessaire, veut étudier ces questions avec soin, attendu qu'elles ne s'étaient jamais présentées du temps de ses aieux, et comme cela demandera de fortes dépenses, notre Maître veut, avant de rien entreprendre, que je m'entende avec vous pour lui démontrer les avantages qui peuvent en résulter et savoir de quelle manière cela sera réglementé. C'est pourquoi je vous prie, Messieurs, de vouloir bien examiner ces questions et de vous entendre sur les droits à payer par les navires, les passagers, et les marchandises, et lorsque vous aurez obtenu l'agrément de vos Gouvernements à ce sujet, de vouloir bien me le communiquer par écrit, afin que j'en informe mon Maître. Lorsque celui-ci se sera assuré des avantages que cela peut avoir pour le Trésor et le bien-être de ses sujets, il enverra ici un Commissaire chargé d'étudier les plans et les devis, et de lui faire un rapport là-dessus: alors s'il plaît à Dieu, il verra ce qu'il y a à faire.

(Signé) MOHAMMED BARGASH.

Inclosure 3 in No. 12.

The Vizier Cid Moussa to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(Translation.)
(After compliments.) *Jumad I* 10, 1295 (*May* 20, 1878).

WE have received your letter, and have comprehended what you have recommended regarding the improvement of the harbour of Mogador, and the injury which is caused at present to merchandize embarked in boats, as the latter are exposed to the waves and surf on approaching the landing-place; and we note that you have directed your son, the Consul at Mogador, to transmit to the Shereefian Court a plan of the proposed improvements, and you suggest that, if our Lord the Sultan decided that the plan should be carried out, the merchant Grace, who is an engineer, should undertake the work, as he will do it in an economical manner, and the Oomana will then pay to him the expenses as he incurs them.

Your son sent the plan, and from his excellent judgment, and zeal in facilitating affairs, and from the interest he takes in the welfare of the Treasury, he stated that the cost of the work would be about 25,000 dollars; and he suggested that the repayment of this outlay should be effected by levying dues upon merchandize, vessels, and steamers, until the expenditure is repaid, and then the dues should be reduced and devoted to the repairs that will be necessary.

We have communicated all this to our Lord the Sultan, and he has approved what you recommended, and His Majesty ordered me to write to you to request that you point out to Cid Mohammed Bargash how he is to represent the matter to the foreign Representatives, so that they may arrange as to the manner of paying the dues before the work is commenced and expenditure incurred. Then Cid Mohammed Bargash should obtain documents signed by them. It is requested that this be done quickly, so that the works may be begun.

We have written to the aforesaid Agent, Cid Mohammed Bargash, to confer with you with the view of carrying this into execution, so that this good work may be carried out.

(Signed) MOUSSA BEN HAMED.

No. 13.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received May* 4.)

(No. 36. Confidential.)
Tangier, April 27, 1885.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 20 of the 17th instant, transmitting copy of a despatch from Consul-General Playfair respecting the question of the frontier between Algeria and Morocco.

The information given by Colonel Playfair regarding the proposed boundaries is very interesting, and the inferences which he draws are no doubt correct as to the consequences which may ensue if the Sultan concedes the territory, which it is supposed the French aim at obtaining, when a rectification of the frontier is effected.

Though M. Feraud spontaneously gave me his word of honour that there was no subject of importance which he had to discuss at the Court, or demand to put forward,* I do not put implicit faith in such assurances, and I think it is not improbable that the question of rectification of frontier will be discussed, especially as I had heard, before M. Feraud's arrival here, that it was the intention of the Sultan to send an Embassy to Paris, and that Cid Abdelmalek Ben El Hashmy, Governor of the frontier town of Oochda, had been selected for this mission,† as it was said the question of the frontier was to be discussed. The Moorish Government have not made any communication to me on the subject, and the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs assured me he has not received any intimation regarding the object of the proposed Embassy to Paris.

As it would be a very delicate matter for me to express any opinion or to offer advice to the Sultan or his Ministers upon such a subject, especially as the refusal of His Shereefian Majesty to entertain the propositions that may be made to him regarding a rectification of the frontier might bring about serious differences and consequences, I have carefully abstained from expressing any opinion to the Moorish Minister; but I have requested an officer at the Court, with whom I occasionally correspond, to let me know confidentially if any question about frontiers is raised by M. Feraud.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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* See No. 12.

† See No. 13.

No. 14.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 24.)
Foreign Office, May 25, 1885.

Sir,

I HAVE received your despatch No. 34 of the 25th ultimo, relative to the mission of M. Feraud to the Court at Fez, and to the proposal that he should bring under the notice of the Sultan, in the name of the foreign Representatives, the necessity of making better provision at Moorish ports for the convenience of shipping and trade.

I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve your action in this matter.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 15.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received June* 1.)

(No. 39. Confidential.)
Tangier, May 24, 1885.

My Lord,

THE Spanish Minister, M. Diosdado, made known to me to-day that he had received a communication from the Government at Madrid, in which considerable apprehension is expressed that the object of the Mission of the French Minister to the Court of the Sultan is to obtain a rectification of frontier or other concession, which may facilitate the ambitious projects of France.

He informed me that he was directed to point this out to his colleagues of Great Britain and Italy, as Representatives of Powers who are interested in the maintenance of the *status quo*, and the freedom of the Straits, which it was thought may at no distant time be imperilled, when the French may consider that the attention of those Powers are engrossed by other questions of a serious character, or even by a great war, and that therefore no serious opposition would be likely to be offered to their taking possession of Morocco, and thereby obtaining the command of the Mediterranean and the Straits.

The Spanish Government thought the moment had arrived when those Powers who were interested in preventing such a catastrophe should endeavour to come to a common understanding as to what course they should pursue before further progress was made by the French towards the object they have in view, and had directed him to suggest to his colleagues of Great Britain and Italy to point this out to their respective Governments.

In confirmation of the grounds for apprehension entertained by the Spanish Government, M. Diosdado communicated to me, confidentially, the following information he had just received from the Moorish Court; that M. Ferand had informed the Sultan that they desired to build fortresses on the frontier, that they had requested that a market should be opened at Oochda for the French, and that a concession should be granted to construct a railway from a place called Bisaka on the French frontier to that town.

M. Diosdado said that it was his intention to point out to the Moorish Government that so long as the French erected fortresses on the frontier within their own territory they had a right to do so, but it could be intimated to the French Minister by the Sultan, that the erection of these fortresses would be regarded as a menace.

That, with regard to the market and railroad, the import and export trade at the Moorish ports and the customs revenues would thereby be seriously impaired, and that if such a project were carried into execution it was most probable the French would demand, when the railway was constructed, that it should be placed entirely under their protection and jurisdiction, and probably also the adjoining country.

In these views I informed M. Diosdado I concurred, and I added that I should report to your Lordship, confidentially, the language he had held, and express an opinion that the time had arrived for those Powers who desire to avoid the complications which may at no distant date ensue to endeavour to come to an understanding as to the best course to be pursued to prevent or to check the ambitious projects the French manifestly entertain upon this country and the Straits.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 16.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1.)

(No. 40. Confidential.)

Tangier, May 25, 1885.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatches No. 36 of the 27th April and No. 39 of yesterday's date, I have the honour to transmit the translation of a Memorandum which the Sultan directed his Chamberlain, Cid Ahmed Ben Moosa, to send me by an express courier, with a request that I should offer my observations as to the replies which it would be advisable to give to the demands that had been put forward by the French Minister.

The courier arrived yesterday evening at my villa in the country, after the visit of the Spanish Minister.* I have since made known, confidentially, to the latter that I received from the Court a communication identic to his own, and had replied almost in the same sense as he had done.

I have the honour to transmit a translation of the reply I have addressed the Chamberlain, and of the Memorandum to be presented to the Sultan, and I trust your Lordship will approve the language I have held.

I dispatched the courier at 1·30 P.M. this day, as had been requested.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 16.

Secret Memorandum addressed to Sir J. Drummond Hay by direction of the Sultan.

(Translation.)

WHAT the personage seeks for is now known. He requests that fortresses be built on the frontier as guard-houses, that a market be established near Oochda, and that a railroad be made from that market until it reaches the railroad on the confines of the Algerine territory.

On account of these requests we ask, oh, friend, how to reply to them. Do not fail to reply with speed. If any other demand is put forward it will be made known directly, if it please God.

Inclosure 2 in No. 16.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to the Sultan's Chamberlain.

(Translation.)

10 Shaban, 1302 (May 25, 1885).

(After usual compliments.)

THE express courier, with your letter of 5 Shaban (20th May), transmitting the Memorandum of His Shereefian Majesty, reached me at 8 P.M. yesterday.

I inclose a Memorandum of my observations in reply. Have the goodness to deliver it to the Sultan, and to inform His Shereefian Majesty that Cid Mahommed Bargash has never replied to my last letter† about the telegraph informing him that all the Representatives have agreed not to raise objections, and declared they accepted the conditions. It is more manifest than ever that it is desirable on every account, for the interests of the Sultan, that there should be immediate means of communication by telegraph with those Governments which have an interest in the welfare of Morocco.

Courier is dispatched to-day at 1·30 P.M.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure 3 in No. 16.

Memorandum by Sir J. Drummond Hay for the Sultan.

(Translation.)

IF the fortresses which the French desire to erect are within the Algerian frontier, the Sultan cannot object; but it might be observed, in replying, that the erection

* See No. 15.

† See No. 16, Commercial, of April 16, 1885.

of fortresses on the frontier, when it is known that the Moorish Government have neither the power nor the inclination to act aggressively towards the powerful French Republic, might be regarded by the population as a hostile measure towards Morocco.

If a market is established at Oochda, where French and other merchandize can be brought and sold, it would produce a serious diminution in the customs at the Moorish ports, which at present is the chief source of revenue of His Shereefian Majesty's Treasury.

With regard to the proposed railroad, the reply might be that in the time of the Sultan Mulai Mohammed the British Minister requested that a concession should be made to a British Company to make a railroad in the interior. It was refused; but the British Minister was given to understand that his request would be borne in mind, and that no preference would be given to other applicants. It is stated that a similar request was made some years past by the Spanish Minister. It might be observed, therefore, in reply, that the concession now asked for could not properly be granted, as it might be a subject for complaint by these Governments that a preference had been shown to the French. His Shereefian Majesty will have to bear in mind that if the French Government or a French Company make a railroad from the Algerian frontier to a town in Morocco it is more than probable that, once the railroad was completed, it would be considered as French property, and therefore solely under French protection and jurisdiction, and demands for heavy indemnities would no doubt be put forward if any injury was done to the road or carriages, or any detriment to the free traffic. The road might also be made use of for military purposes.

There is no doubt that the introduction of railroads throughout His Shereefian Majesty's dominions would tend greatly to develop trade and the welfare in general of the country, but such works should in the first place be introduced from the seaboard to the capitals of Fez and Morocco, and might hereafter be extended to the towns of the interior, or even to Algeria; but to establish such railroads between Algeria and Moorish towns at the present time is a matter for very serious consideration both in a military, political, and fiscal point of view.

No. 17.

*Earl Granville to Viscount Lyons.**

(No. 554. Confidential.)

Foreign Office, June 2, 1885.

My Lord,

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith, for your confidential information, copies of despatches, as marked in the margin,† from Her Majesty's Minister at Tangier, upon the subject of the relations between France and Morocco.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 18.

Earl Granville to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 25. Confidential.)

Foreign Office, June 2, 1885.

Sir,

YOUR despatches No. 39, Confidential, of the 24th May, and No. 40, Confidential, of the 25th May, upon the subject of the relations between France and Morocco, have been received and laid before the Queen, and I have to state to you that your proceedings as reported in those despatches are approved by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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* Also to Sir R. Morier (No. 55, Confidential).

† Nos. 15 and 16.

No. 19.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received June* 16.)

(No. 44.)
Tangier, June 8, 1885.

My Lord,

M. FERAUD returned yesterday from the Moorish Court. A number of the military officers, who had accompanied him arrived here last week, and left for Algeria.

M. Feraud addressed me a letter, as Doyen, of which I have the honour to transmit a copy, making known the successful result of his application to the Sultan, in the name of all the Representatives, for the construction of a mole or pier at Tangier, and of a breakwater at Daralbaida, and stating that orders had been given to the port officers to be more active in their duties.

I have communicated M. Feraud's letter, and the translation of the letter addressed to him by the Vizir to the members of the Diplomatic Corps, and I proposed that we should await the receipt of the letters, which the Vizir mentions he has addressed us, and that the meeting to discuss these questions should take place at the residence of the Acting Minister, Hadj Mohammed Torres.

I trust that there will be no objections raised by any of the Representatives to admit the right of this Government to levy reasonable dues on shipping or merchandize on account of the proposed works; but when I obtained, years ago, the consent of the Sultan for effecting similar improvements, the matter fell through owing to the Spanish Minister at that time having objected to the levying of such dues. I have every reason, however, to believe that the present Spanish Minister, M. Diosdado, will act on this occasion in concert with his colleagues.

With regard to the Sultan's orders to the port authorities, of which M. Feraud informs us he is the bearer, I had already obtained that similar orders should be sent by His Shereefian Majesty to various ports, but the repetition of such orders will, no doubt, produce a good effect, as there have been frequent complaints of irregularities and negligence on the part of the port officers.

I called on M. Feraud this morning to congratulate him on his return, and on the successful issue of his negotiations at the Court for carrying out the wishes of the Representatives.

He informed me that he had been extremely well received by the Sultan and his Ministers, and that he had every reason to be pleased and satisfied.

I am told that the Sultan presented to M. Feraud and his suite a number of horses, that for the Minister very richly caparisoned; swords of honour, and other unusually costly gifts, which was to be expected, considering the valuable presents M. Feraud conveyed to the Court, in field-guns, thorough-bred mares, telephones, electric lights, &c.

It is reported that M. Feraud refused to present or to support, as his predecessors had done, the trumped-up claims of protected Jews and others, and that he even made known to the Sultan that notarial documents are frequently forged by protected Jews in concert with law officers. It is said that numbers of "adool," or public notaries, have consequently been arrested by order of the Sultan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 19.

M. Feraud to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

Tangier, le 8 *Juin*, 1885.

M. et cher Collègue,

DANS sa séance du mois d'Avril dernier, le Corps Diplomatique m'a chargé de soumettre à Sa Majesté Chérifienne un projet d'après lequel le Gouvernement Marocain s'engagerait à faire construire un môle dans le port de Tanger et un brise-lames dans celui de Casablanca, moyennant une surtaxe dont seraient frappées les marchandises. Le Grand Vizir m'a fait connaître la réponse du Sultan par une lettre dont j'ai l'honneur de vous adresser ci-joint la traduction, et que je vous prie de vouloir bien communiquer au Corps Diplomatique.

D'autre part, et conformément au désir que m'en avait également exprimé le Corps Diplomatique, j'ai saisi Sa Majesté Chérifienne d'une plainte contre les capitaines de ports, dont les lenteurs et le mauvais vouloir compromettent tous les jours plus grave-

ment les intérêts commerciaux Européens. Le Grand Vizir m'a remis quatorze lettres enjoignant aux divers fonctionnaires de la côte d'apporter à l'avenir toute la célérité et toute la vigilance désirables dans leurs rapports avec les capitaines marchands, s'ils ne veulent pas encourir les mesures disciplinaires les plus rigoureuses.

Je vous laisse le soin de fixer le jour où le Corps Diplomatique pourrait se réunir pour prendre connaissance de ces documents.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) FERAUD.

Inclosure 2 in No. 19.

The Grand Vizir to M. Feraud.

(Traduction.)
Le 9 *Chaaban*, 1302 (26 *Mai*, 1885).

L'EMPEREUR mon Maître a examiné avec attention ce que vous avez écrit au sujet de la construction d'un môle dans le port de Tanger et d'un brise-lames dans celui de Dar-el-beida.

Il s'est fait une idée exacte de tout ce que vous lui avez signalé à ce sujet, et il m'a donné l'ordre de vous répondre dans le sens ci-après indiqué. Vous seriez assez bon pour vous réunir avec les autres Ministres vos collègues et Cid Mohammed Torres. Vous vous consulteriez au sujet de la venue d'un ingénieur qui serait chargé d'évaluer tout ce qui est relatif à cet objet. Vous vous entendriez pour faire venir chacun un ingénieur. Chacun d'eux donnerait son évaluation et l'on verrait quelle est celle dont l'adoption serait préférable, ou bien l'un de vous pourrait faire venir de son pays un ingénieur. Et d'après l'évaluation qu'il ferait on prélèverait une surtaxe sur tout ce qui entrerait dans le port afin de l'appliquer à l'œuvre en question. Cette surtaxe serait bien entendu supprimée du jour où l'œuvre aurait rencontré sa pleine et entière réalisation. Nous avons écrit dans ce sens à Mohammed Torres et aux autres Ministres, et vous voudrez bien nous faire savoir ultérieurement ce qui aura été décidé entre vous afin que nous en donnions communication à Sa Majesté.

(Signé) MOHAMMED BEN EL ARBI.

No. 20.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received June* 16.)

(No. 45. Confidential.)
Tangier, June 9, 1885.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 44 of yesterday's date, reporting the arrival of M. Feraud from the Moorish Court, and my visit to him, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that during our conversation he expressed his dissatisfaction that English and Spanish papers should have announced that he had been sent to the Court to seek for a rectification of the frontier, which, he assured me, was a "canard;" and he added that it was much to be deplored that the "Réveil du Maroc" and other local papers should be allowed to publish inaccurate and malevolent statements, such as that he had been badly received by one of the Governors of Algharb, that he had had unpleasant questions with a Minister at the Moorish Court, all which he declared to be untrue, and he hoped that I did not believe these reports.

I replied that I had seen in the "Gibraltar Chronicle" and other English papers copies of telegrams published in French journals, announcing that the chief object of his mission was to obtain certain concessions regarding the frontier, but that as he had given me his "parole d'honneur" before he left for the Court that he had no matters of importance to negotiate, I had not paid much attention to these reports; that with regard to the accounts given in the local papers, such as the "Réveil" and others, I was the last person to give credence to them, as I had been, and continued to be, the butt of their malevolence, by the insertion of all kinds of mendacious statements and charges in their columns, that I had at first been much annoyed by their publication, but that now I had become quite callous, and that when I am not abused I feel as if importance was no longer attached to my proceedings.

I added even editors of, and contributors to, eminent journals have lavished abuse upon me, and have made charges of a calumnious character, but I felt so much indebted to these persons for having done so, on account of the manner in which

Her Majesty's Government had vindicated my character and conferred honour upon me, that, I added laughingly, it was almost a subject for regret when they ceased to abuse me.

M. Charmes, one of the chief contributors to the "Débats," who had accompanied M. Feraud to the Court, was present when I expressed myself thus to M. Feraud. He wrote last year several virulent leaders in the "Débats" regarding me. He was introduced to me by M. Feraud, but when I made use of this language, I did not address myself to him, or show in any manner that I felt unfriendly towards him.

M. Feraud informed me that he was going to Paris in about a fortnight. Though he did not say so, I believe he accompanies the Moorish Embassy, which the Sultan is sending to Paris. The "Safer," as the Envoy is called, who has been selected, is Cid Abdelmalek-el-Hashmy, Governor of the frontier town of Oochda, and formerly "Khaleefa," or Lieutenant-Governor of Tangier; a shrewd, intelligent officer; but the fact of his having been selected for this mission convinces me that the question of the rectification of the frontier is under discussion.

I have not received any further information from the Court upon this subject,* but Cid Mohammed Ben Suleyman tells me that as far as he can learn, the Sultan has not made any concession either about frontiers or about railways to M. Feraud.

An Embassy is also to be dispatched very shortly to Madrid, the Basha of Tangier, Kaid Abdessadok, who has been at the Court for some months, is expected to return here this week, and will proceed as "Safer" to the Spanish Court. I understand that presents of horses, &c., are to be sent by the Sultan both to Paris and Madrid, and that the French and Spanish Governments intend to dispatch vessels of war to convey the Embassies and horses to their several destinations.

An Embassy is also to be sent to Rome.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

P.S.—I hear there is an article in the Spanish paper "Epoca," which I have not seen, wherein mention is made of the request of the French Government to build fortifications on the frontier, and for the concession of a railroad to Oochda. This information must have transpired from the Foreign Office at Madrid,† for the Sultan had requested M. Diosdado to express his opinion upon the demands put forward by M. Feraud in the same manner as His Shereefian Majesty had addressed himself confidentially to me for advice upon this subject.

A French frigate is in the bay, awaiting, as I am told, the Moorish Envoy.

J. H. D. H.

No. 21.

Earl Granville to Sir J. S. Lumley.

(No. 170. Confidential.)

Foreign Office, June 19, 1885.

Sir,

WITH reference to previous correspondence, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of a despatch which has been received from Her Majesty's Minister at Tangier, on the subject of the relations between France and Morocco.‡

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 22.

Viscount Lyons to Earl Granville.—(*Received June* 24.)

(No. 402.)

Paris, June 23, 1885.

My Lord,

PUBLIC attention at Paris is at this moment much occupied by the affairs of Morocco.

In the first place, rumours have been spread that the recent visit of M. Feraud, the French Minister in Morocco, to the Sultan, was made with the object of obtaining a rectification, to the advantage of France, of the frontier between Morocco and Algeria, and had even gone far towards attaining that object.

* See No. 109. † See No. 108. ‡ No. 20.

In the second place, the arrival of a special Embassy from the Sultan is expected at Paris, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs has applied to the Chamber for a vote of 50,000 fr. (2,000*l.*) for the expenses of receiving it.

Lastly, it has been stated in the press, that a French newspaper published at Tangier, under the title of the "Réveil du Maroc," has been suppressed at the instigation of Her Majesty's Minister.

Authentic information on these matters will have reached your Lordship from Sir John Drummond Hay, but as illustrations of the currents of feeling prevalent here, I do myself the honour to send to your Lordship extracts from two Paris newspapers.*

The first is taken from the "Journal des Débats" of yesterday, and consists of a letter written from Tangier by M. Gabriel Charmes. It contains an account of M. Feraud's visit to the Sultan. It denies that M. Feraud proposed a rectification of the frontier, and argues that a demand of the kind would have been inopportune and mischievous, that no such rectification is desirable at the present moment, and that the only object of the mission of M. Feraud was to re-establish perfect cordiality in the relations between France and the Sultan. Henceforward (M. Gabriel Charmes says in conclusion) there will not be the smallest black spot in the horizon of Morocco, and France, being quite tranquil on the west of her possessions in Africa, will be free to give her whole attention to the dark spots which may appear on the east of them, and which it is so much her interest to dissipate pacifically.

The second extract which I inclose is from the "France." It comments with the virulence and the bitter hostility to England characteristic of the journal in which it appears, upon the alleged suppression of the "Réveil du Maroc."

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 23.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.—(*Received July* 1.)

(No. 49.)

Tangier, June 24, 1885.

My Lord,

THE Envoy of the Sultan to the French Republic, Cid Abd-el-Malek Ben-el-Hashmy, embarked this day on board the French frigate "Aréthuse," and proceeded to Toulon.

Several horses were taken on board, which it is reported are to be presented to President Grévy.

I observe in French journals that the sum of 50,000 fr. has been voted in the Chamber of Deputies for defraying the expenses of the Moorish Envoy.

M. Feraud, the French Minister, accompanies the Mission to Paris.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 24.

Sir J. Walsham to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received July* 1.)

(No. 420.)

Paris, June 30, 1885.

My Lord,

LORD LYONS mentioned in his despatch No. 402 of the 23rd instant, the expected arrival at Paris of a special Embassy from the Sultan of Morocco, and I have now the honour to report its arrival, accompanied by M. Feraud, the French Representative at Tangier.

His Excellency transmitted at the same time an article from the Paris newspaper "La France," written in its usual spirit of hostility towards England. This article had especial reference to the alleged suppression of the "Réveil du Maroc," a journal published in French at Tangier. As to-day's number of "La France" contains a letter from a correspondent at Tangier which, in alluding to the special Embassy, refers again to the question of the "Réveil du Maroc," I venture to forward to your Lordship the accompanying extract from it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN WALSHAM.

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* Not printed.

Inclosure in No. 24.

Extract from "La France" of June 30, 1885.

LA "FRANCE" AU MAROC.

Tangier, le 24 Juin, 1885.

AINSI que je vous l'ai annoncé dans ma dernière dépêche, l'Ambassade Marocaine que le Sultan envoie à Paris, part aujourd'hui à bord de "l'Aréthuse," que le Gouvernement Français a mis à sa disposition.

Elle se compose du Caïd Abd-el-Malec-Saïdi, Gouverneur d'Oujda, un des hommes les plus éclairés de l'Empire et qui, en maintes occasions, a donné des témoignages de sympathie à la France; de Sidi-el-Mouëz, Président des Cadis (autorités religieuses) de Fez; du fils de ce dernier; d'un Secrétaire d'Ambassade; de quatre Caïds; du Capitaine de Boupharis, de la Cavalerie Légère du Sultan; d'un intendant; d'un Administrateur; d'un cuisinier; d'un barbier et de cinq palefreniers.

La Mission est en outre accompagnée de douze jeunes gens, que le Sultan envoie à l'École du Génie de Montpellier, accompagnés d'un sous-officier Marocain parlant Français qui leur sert d'interprète. Ces jeunes gens seront présentés à l'École du Génie par le Sous-Lieutenant Roger, qui faisait partie de la Mission Militaire qui a suivi l'Ambassade Française à Fez.

M. Feraud, le Ministre de France, accompagné de M. Benchimol, son deuxième interprète, part avec l'Ambassade Marocaine. Cette combinaison est on ne peut plus heureuse, car elle permettra à notre Ministre d'assister le Gouvernement dans ses négociations avec la Mission Arabe et de compléter ainsi l'œuvre qu'il a si bien commencée à Fez.

Le Sultan envoie au Président de la République dix beaux chevaux richement harnachés et vingt caisses fermées contenant toutes sortes d'objets de provenance Marocaine. Ces cadeaux seront remis à M. Grévy par l'Ambassadeur du Maroc.

* * * * * *

Ainsi que je vous l'ai télégraphié, Tanger paraît menacé d'une seconde édition de l'incident du "Bosphore Égyptien," et, ici encore, les autorités Anglaises paraissent vouloir jouer le même rôle que leurs compatriotes ont joué en Égypte.

Il s'agit d'une plainte adressée aux Représentants étrangers, par le Gouvernement Marocain, contre les attaques auxquelles il est en butte de la part de la presse locale, plainte appuyée par la Légation Britannique, laquelle, comme je vous l'ai dit dans ma dépêche, a menacé le propriétaire de l'imprimerie locale, un sujet Anglais, de supprimer le journal qui contiendrait dorénavant des attaques contre le Gouvernement Marocain, ou les Légations étrangères.

Cette prétension Britannique a provoqué une réunion des membres de la presse locale, et des notables de la Colonie Européenne. Dans cette réunion, on a protesté contre l'attitude de la Légation Anglaise et décidé la création d'une Association Internationale qui aura pour but de défendre l'autonomie légale des journaux locaux contre tout acte arbitraire.

Les deux journaux hebdomadaires du Maroc, qui comptent déjà plus de deux années d'existence, ont rendu des services réels à la colonie. Leur influence en ce qui concerne les réformes à introduire dans le pays a été à peu près nulle, car leurs efforts se sont constamment heurtés contre les traditions séculaires du Maroc et la rivalité des Représentants étrangers; mais ils ont contribué efficacement,—et c'est là déjà un précieux résultat—à attirer sur le Maroc l'attention du monde civilisé et surtout à prévenir les abus de pouvoir des Consuls étrangers.

* * * * * *

Il est à remarquer que, malgré la différence des vues politiques dont s'inspire chacun des journaux locaux, ils se sont toujours rencontrés sur le même terrain pour critiquer la Légation Britannique, dont l'action a été de tout temps préjudiciable au développement des relations commerciales du Maroc avec l'étranger et, par suite, à la situation matérielle des étrangers établis dans ce pays.

De là naturellement une irritation croissante de la part de la colonie, irritation qui se traduit dans les feuilles locales, par des attaques trop justifiées contre Sir John Hay, le Représentant de la Grande-Bretagne.

Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire qu'il n'y a pas de loi au Maroc applicable aux journalistes étrangers et que, quand elle existerait, ils y échapperaient naturellement en vertu du droit des Capitulations.

(Signé) A. PIMIENTA.

No. 25.

*The Marquis of Salisbury to Viscount Lyons.**

(No. 633.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, July* 8, 1885.

I TRANSMIT herewith to your Excellency, for your information, copies of two despatches which I have received from Her Majesty's Minister at Tangier, relative to M. Féraud's proceedings at the Moorish Court and the proposed dispatch of Moorish Embassies to Paris and Madrid.†

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 26.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir R. Morier.‡

(No. 71.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 11, 1885.

I TRANSMIT herewith, for your information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, relative to the affairs of Morocco and the amount of public interest taken therein at the present moment in Paris.§

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 27.

Viscount Lyons to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received July 20.)

(No. 470.)

My Lord, *Paris, July* 18, 1885.

M. DE FREYCINET told me this afternoon that the Ambassadors from Morocco had taken leave of the President of the Republic and of himself, and were about to quit France.

The Embassy had, he said, been simply one of courtesy and compliment. The Ambassadors had brought presents and had been charged with presents to take back. Their expenses in France had been defrayed by the French Government.

M. de Freycinet informed me that the Ambassadors had declared, on their arrival, that they had no mission from the Sultan to transact any business with the French Government, and his Excellency added that, in fact, no serious matter of business had been treated by them or with them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 28.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir J. S. Lumley.‖

(No. 194.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 22, 1885.

I TRANSMIT herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of a despatch, as marked in the margin,¶ from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, relative to the departure of the Moorish Mission from that capital.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY

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* Also to Sir R. Morier (No. 68).
‡ Also to Sir J. Drummond Hay (No. 32).
‖ Also to Sir J. Drummond Hay (No. 34).
† See Part X, Nos. 119 and 120.
§ Ibid., No. 129.
¶ No. 27.

No. 29.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received July 29.)

(No. 59.) *Tangier, July 23, 1885.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 32 of the 11th instant, transmitting copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris relative to the affairs of Morocco.

In that despatch I found a duplicate of his Excellency's despatch No. 402 of the 23rd June to your Lordship, but not the two extracts referred to therein; I have seen the letters addressed to the "Débats" by M. Gabriel Charmes regarding the state of Morocco and the mission of M. Féraud to the Sultan's Court, but I have not seen the extract from the "France," "which comments with virulence upon the alleged suppression of the 'Réveil du Maroc' at my instigation."

I have taken no steps to instigate the suppression of the "Réveil du Maroc," or of the other local newspapers, which have been in the habit of making attacks upon me or upon my proceedings; on the contrary, when Cid Mohammed Bargash expressed a second time his desire that steps should be taken to have these local papers suppressed, I suggested that such an extreme step should not be resorted to, but that a warning should be communicated to the editors through Her Majesty's Consul.*

I take this opportunity of placing your Lordship in possession of the translation of a letter addressed to me on the 3rd instant by the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, Hadj Mohammed Torres, upon this subject, and of a copy of the letter which the Acting British Consul, Mr. Herbert White, addressed to the editors of the three local papers, Mr. Levy Cohen, of the "Réveil du Maroc;" Mr. Meakin, of the "Times of Morocco;" and Mr. Abrines, of the "Moghreb al Aksa." These papers continue to be published as heretofore, and have not been suppressed.

The two former indulge in virulent and mendacious language regarding me, especially the paper edited by Mr. Meakin, so much so that Mr. Abrines, who is the printer of these papers, refused this month to print an article sent him by Mr. Meakin, which he informed me was of a libellous character regarding myself. I declined to see the article, and told Mr. Abrines that I should take no notice of any attack upon my conduct, so long as there was no defamation of character, when I might proceed against the writer, and also against the printer.

Mr. Abrines, the editor of the "Moghreb al Aska," has been very careful latterly not to introduce into his journal articles which could give offence to this Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 29.

Hadj Mohammed Torres to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(Translation.) *Ramadan* 19, 1302 (*July* 3, 1885)

(After usual compliments.)

WE are aware that you have cognizance of what the Minister, Cid Mohammed Bargash, has written on several occasions regarding the newspapers which contain offensive language respecting His Shereefian Majesty and the officers of this Government and regarding foreign Governments and their Representatives in these dominions, and that Cid Mohammed Bargash had required that these papers should be suppressed. We had, therefore, requested that you should warn the proprietors of these newspapers that they should cease to employ language which may be injurious [to this Government] or which may produce ill-feeling between this and other Governments, but we learn that up till now they have not ceased from their action.

We have, therefore, to request that you send for them, and that you repeat in decided language the warning, and declare that if after this date there should appear articles of an improper character in any one of these papers it will have to be suppressed, and will not be allowed to be printed again or to be distributed in these dominions, and in the same manner any other newspapers [giving grounds for complaint, will be suppressed].

* The first warning was given by Her Majesty's Consul through the printer (see despatch No. 104, of November 16, 1884). A second similar warning was given last June.—J. H D. H.

We hold in our possession many of these newspapers to prove our statements and grounds for complaint.

Peace and friendship.

(Signed) MOHAMMED BEN AL ARBY AL TORRES.

Inclosure 2 in No. 29.

Acting Consul White to Editors of Tangier Newspapers.

Tangier, July 7, 1885.

Sir,

I HAVE to inform you that Her Majesty's Minister has received a letter from Hadj Mohammed Torres, the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, stating that Cid Mohammed Bargash had made repeated representations regarding articles that had appeared in the local newspapers containing offensive language respecting His Shereefian Majesty and Moorish officials, as also respecting foreign Representatives in this country, and had requested that these papers should be suppressed.

Hadj Mohammed Torres further states in this letter that, notwithstanding the warnings which have been given, these papers continue to contain articles of a character likely to be injurious to His Shereefian Majesty's Government, and also to produce ill-feeling between them and foreign Powers.

His Excellency therefore requests that you be distinctly warned to be careful for the future to avoid the insertion in any local paper of which you may be the editor of language of a character to justify this Government in taking measures for its suppression.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

N.B.—Similar letters addressed to the editors of the "Times of Morocco" and "Al Moghreb al Aksa."

No. 30.

Assim Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Marquis of Salisbury by Musurus Pasha, September 23.)

Sublime Porte, le 14 Septembre, 1885.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

VOUS avez eu sans doute connaissance d'un Décret rendu à la date du 23 Juin dernier par le Président de la République Française dans le but de définir et d'élargir les attributions du Ministre Résident de France à Tunis.

Les dispositions de ce Décret tendant à assimiler de plus en plus le régime actuel de la Tunisie à celui qui est en vigueur dans les Colonies Françaises et à consolider par conséquent l'état de choses institué dans cette province à la suite des évènements de 1881, le Gouvernement Impérial ne pouvait pas le laisser passer inaperçu. Aussi, ai-je cru devoir adresser à l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan à Paris la dépêche que vous trouverez ci-près en copie et qui a pour objet de renouveler les protestations que nous avons déjà formulées en temps et lieu à ce sujet.

Votre Excellence voudra bien communiquer cette dépêche au Gouvernement près duquel elle est accréditée et le prier de prendre acte de nos réserves.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) M. ASSIM.

Inclosure in No. 30.

Assim Pasha to Essad Pasha.

(Télégraphique.) *Le 14 Septembre, 1885.*

J'AI reçu la dépêche que votre Excellence a bien voulu m'adresser le 2 Juillet dernier, pour me signaler un Décret rendu par le Président de la République Française dans le but de définir et d'élargir les attributions du Ministre Résident de France à Tunis.

Les dispositions de ce Décret tendent à établir une assimilation de plus en plus complète entre le régime administratif en Tunisie et celui qui est en vigueur dans les Colonies Françaises, ou, en d'autres termes, à consolider l'état des choses institué dans cette province à la suite des évènements de 1881.

A ce titre nous ne saurions, sans manquer à nos devoirs, le laisser passer inaperçu.

Dès l'instant où les premières complications se sont produites en Tunisie, le Gouvernement Impérial s'est empressé d'affirmer l'existence des droits séculaires que Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan possède, au même titre que ses glorieux ancêtres, sur cette province de son Empire. Depuis l'époque la plus reculée la Tunisie a fait partie intégrante de l'Empire Ottoman, et les Sultans s'y trouvaient investis d'une autorité souveraine qui a été exercée sans interruption pendant une longue suite de siècles. Les raisons à l'aide desquelles on a cherché à établir que la Tunisie était devenue indépendante ont été combattues à la fois par le Gouvernement Impérial, par le Pacha de Tunis, et par toutes les autorités et les populations mêmes de la province.

En 1854, ces droits subsistaient dans toute leur étendue, au point que, pendant la guerre de Crimée, un contingent de troupes Tunisiennes est venu combattre, aux côtés et sous les drapeaux de l'Armée Impériale, pour la défense de la patrie commune. Le Traité de Paris, en consacrant le principe de l'intégrité de l'Empire Ottoman, a confirmé les droits du Sultan sur la Province de Tunis; et cet acte solennel, à l'élaboration duquel la France a pris une part si active, constitue entre les mains du Gouvernement Impérial un titre dont on ne saurait contester la haute valeur.

Le Gouvernement Impérial n'a pas reconnu et ne peut reconnaître les actes qui auraient pour conséquence de léser les droits séculaires de notre auguste Souverain. Les faits qui ont eu lieu à Tunis sans sa participation et malgré les réclamations légitimes qu'il n'a cessé de faire entendre, demeurent à ses yeux contraires au droit international et sont, dès lors, dépourvus de la sanction du droit.

Nous nous trouvons donc, à l'occasion de la dernière mesure prise par le Gouvernement Français, dans la nécessité de renouveler nos protestations contre tous les évènements qui ont eu pour effet de modifier l'état des choses établi *ab antiquo* dans la Province de Tunis, et de réserver de la manière la plus formelle et la plus explicite les droits de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, tels qu'ils résultent de la tradition, des Firmans Impériaux réglant la situation de la province, et des Traités Internationaux.

Veuillez donner lecture de la présente dépêche à M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de France et lui en laisser copie.

No. 31.

Mr. de Bunsen to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received September* 24.)

(No 115. Confidential.)
Madrid, September 20, 1885.

My Lord,

AT an interview with the Italian Minister yesterday afternoon, Señor Elduayen volunteered the statement, as I have been confidentially informed by Baron Blanc, that the French Ambassador had quite recently renewed the assurance that the French Government contemplated no action in Morocco calculated to change in any way the *status quo*. Baron des Michels had added that no step of importance would be taken by France in that country without a full and cordial understanding with Spain. The Spanish Government therefore, in Señor Elduayen's phrase, might now go to sleep, so far as Morocco was concerned, "with both eyes shut."

I have, &c.
(Signed) MAURICE DE BUNSEN.

No. 32.

*The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir J. Walsham.**

(No. 793.)
Foreign Office, October 1, 1885.

[Transmits copy of despatch from the Porte to Musurus Pasha dated September 14 1885: *ante*, No. 37.]

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* Also to other Embassies and Tunis.

No. 33.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 44.)
Foreign Office, October 1, 1885.

[Transmits copy of Mr. de Bunsen's No. 115 of September 20, 1885: *ante*, No. 38.]

No. 34.

Consul-General Playfair to the Earl of Rosebery.—(*Received April* 2, 2 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)
Algiers, April 2, 1886, 8·30 A.M.

SERIOUS revolt has taken place on Morocco frontier. The Governor [name undecypherable] has taken refuge with families in Algeria. Troops sent to the French frontier.

No. 35.

Viscount Lyons to the Earl of Rosebery.—(*Received April* 6.)

(No. 151.)
Paris, April 5, 1886.

My Lord,

I RECEIVED last evening a despatch, under flying seal, addressed to your Lordship by Mr. Consul-General Playfair, dated the 2nd instant, and marked "Political, No. 1."

It records the telegram in cypher of the same date in which the Consul-General informed your Lordship that a serious revolt had taken place on the Morocco frontier.

It then goes on to say that the facts of the case, so far as they have transpired, are as follows:—

"The Maia tribe has attacked the Amgado of Ouchda and the Amil, or Governor, Si Abd-el-Melek, has taken refuge, with his whole family, at Lalla Maghina, in French territory, and has demanded French protection. Reinforcements of artillery, cavalry, and infantry have been sent from Oran and Tlemcen to the frontier."

The despatch adds that:—

"Si Abd-el-Melek is the person who went last year to Paris as Ambassador from Morocco, accompanied by M. Féraud."

I took an opportunity this morning of mentioning the matter to M. de Freycinet.

He said that he had seen in the newspapers statements respecting the alleged revolt on the Morocco frontier of Algeria, but that he had no authentic information. He had received recent intelligence from M. Féraud, the French Minister in Morocco, but it contained no mention of the revolt. As for the dispatch of French troops to the frontier, he supposed that nothing more had taken place than some of the usual movements of troops which were so often necessary in the Algerian districts in the neighbourhood of Morocco.

The Paris newspapers publish an ordinary telegram, dated Madrid, the 3rd April, stating that letters from Madrid affirm that uneasiness is felt by the inhabitants of the ports in Morocco in consequence of the departure for the southern provinces of the Sultan, who is said to have gone to the assistance of the army of 11,000 men, which is commanded by his eldest son, and is alleged to be in a critical situation.

I will forward the Consul-General's original despatch to your Lordship by the messenger to-morrow.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 36.

Consul-General Playfair to the Earl of Rosebery.—(*Received April* 7.)

(No. 1.)
Algiers, April 2, 1886.

My Lord,

I HAVE this day sent the following cypher telegram to your Lordship:—

"Serious revolt has taken place on Morocco frontier.

"Governor of Ouchda has taken refuge with family in Algeria. Troops sent to the French frontier."

The facts of the case, as far as they have transpired, are as follows:—

The Maïa tribe has attacked the Amgads of Ouchda, and the Amel, or Governor, Si Abd-el-Melek, has taken refuge with his whole family at Lalla Maghiua, in French territory, and has demanded French protection.

Reinforcements of artillery, cavalry, and infantry have been sent from Oran and Tlemçen to the frontier.

Si Abd-el-Melek is the person who went last year to Paris as Ambassador from Morocco, accompanied by M. Féraud.

The question naturally occurs, is this the beginning of the long talked of "rectification" of the frontier?

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. L. PLAYFAIR.

No. 37.

Sir Clare Ford to the Earl of Rosebery.—(*Received April* 7.)

(No. 37.)
My Lord, *Madrid, April* 4, 1886.

SEÑOR MORET, the Spanish Minister of State, informed me yesterday that he had received intelligence of a very disquieting nature from his Agent at Oran respecting the unsatisfactory state of affairs in Morocco.

Señor Moret stated that the son of the Emperor of Morocco had been sent with a force of 10,000 men to the south of the Empire, where a rebellion had broken out, and that in consequence of his (the Sultan's son) finding himself in difficulties, the Emperor had quitted his capital and gone to Mogador, in order to afford him assistance.

Señor Moret likewise stated that disturbances had taken place in the north-eastern portion of the Empire of Morocco, in the vicinity of the French Algerian frontier, and that he had reason to believe that a large French force was being collected at Tlemçen, with a view to undertaking active operations.

What the result of such operations might be, Señor Moret said he could not predict, but he had brought the subject to the notice of Señor Albareda, the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, who had been instructed to make inquiries of the French Government on the matter; and that Señor Albareda had been informed by the French Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in reply to his inquiries, that the French Government were not in possession of any particulars on the subject.

This answer Señor Moret considered as highly unsatisfactory, if not evasive.

He said he should view with great concern any circumstances which might tend to threaten the stability of the Sultan's throne, and that he believed that the true policy for England and Spain to pursue in Morocco was to preserve by all means the maintenance of the *status quo* at present existing in that Empire, but that he suspected the present disturbances might be fomented by French intrigues actuated by ambitious projects, and might result in the French Government seeking to extend their frontier in the direction of the Mulaya, which the Spanish Government could not view with indifference.

Señor Moret appeared to attach great importance to the subject, and I promised to report to your Lordship his observations with respect to it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS CLARE FORD.

No. 38.

Viscount Lyons to the Earl of Rosebery.—(*Received April* 7.)

(No. 153.)
My Lord, *Paris, April* 6, 1886.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship the accompanying despatch, which I have received under flying seal from Her Majesty's Consul-General at Algiers, relative to a revolt stated to have broken out in Morocco on the Algerian frontier.*

Extracts from this despatch were embodied in my despatch to your Lordship No. 151 of yesterday.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

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* See No. 36.

No. 39.

Consul-General Playfair to the Earl of Rosebery.—(*Received April* 13.)

(No. 2.)
My Lord, *Algiers, April* 9, 1886.

IN continuation of my despatch No. 1, dated the 2nd instant, I have the honour to report that the insurrection on the Moroccan frontier, of which I gave an outline, has been fully confirmed.

It appears to have originated in a recent order of the Sultan dividing the tribe of Maïa, or Mehaya, hitherto under the Caïd Bou Bekr, and placing a fraction of it, the Achach, under the authority of a new Chief named Chaibi.

This greatly displeased the former, who attacked the Achach and drove them towards the French frontier; both Chiefs fell during the encounter.

Abd-el-Melek, the Amel of Ouchda, prepared to pursue the Mehaya, who had placed themselves in an attitude of rebellion to the Sultan, but he himself, at the head of the Angads, was attacked by them and driven into Algeria, which he entered on the 27th March.

An escort of French troops conducted him along this side of the frontier as far as the nearest point to the Moroccan fort of Adjerond on the coast, near the Molonia, where he appears to be at the present moment.

Complete anarchy reigns at Ouchda, the prisons have been broken open, and about 150 people have been killed on both sides. As far as can be learnt, the Angads appear to have the best of it, so far, though their Amel has fled.

A division of French troops, under the command of General Gand, consisting of two battalions of infantry, four squadrons of cavalry, and a battery of artillery, is watching the frontier at Lalla Maghnia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. L. PLAYFAIR.

No. 40.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to the Earl of Rosebery.—(*Received April* 17.)

(No. 17.)
My Lord, *Tangier, April* 9, 1886.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram of the 3rd instant regarding disturbances on the Algerian frontier, no tidings have been received overland, as communications by courier are very tardy in reaching Tangier.

M. Féraud informed me that he had not received any official account from the Government in Algeria, but he showed me French journals containing reports of what had occurred.

The Berber tribes of Angad and Mehaya, who dwell in the mountainous districts about three days' journey south of the Moorish town of Oochda, had been fighting amongst themselves, and the Governor of that town, Kaid Abdelmaleh, late Envoy to France, having intervened, was attacked and compelled to take refuge within the French frontier.

The Algerian authorities dispatched a small force under a native officer to require the tribe who had pursued the Kaid Abdelmaleh into French territory to withdraw; they were fired at, and three of the Algerian troopers were killed. The town of Oochda has also since been attacked by one of the rebel tribes. A larger force has been dispatched by the French authorities to the frontier to maintain order.

The Arab Chief, Booamama, who two years ago had made raids into the French territory, and who had subsequently taken refuge with his followers in the desert to the south of Figuig, is reported to be with the insurgents.

As the Sultan is in Soos with the chief forces His Majesty has at his command, it is to be feared that this revolt has been brought about through Booamama's influence, with a view of bringing about a conflict with the French, and in the hope that the latter will enter Morocco, causing a general insurrection and holy war.

If these disturbances continue, the Sultan may return or send a portion of his forces to Fez and Oochda to put down the rebellion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 41.

The Earl of Rosebery to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 240.) *Foreign Office, April* 21, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Sir C. Ford's No. 37 of April 4, 1886: *ante*, No. 37.]

No. 42.

The Earl of Rosebery to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 10.) *Foreign Office, April* 21, 1886.

[Transmits copies of Sir C. Ford's No. 37 of April 4, 1886; and Consul-General Playfair's No. 1 of April 2, 1886: *ante*, Nos. 36 and 37.]

No. 43.

The Earl of Rosebery to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 254.) *Foreign Office, April* 24, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Sir J. Drummond Hay's No. 17 of April 9, 1886: *ante*, No. 40.]

No. 44.

The Earl of Rosebery to Sir C. Ford.

(No. 48.) *Foreign Office, April* 26, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Sir J. Drummond Hay's No. 17 of April 9, 1886: *ante*, No. 40.]

No. 45.

Sir Villiers Lister to Consul-General Playfair.

(No. 1.) *Foreign Office, April* 26, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Sir J. Drummond Hay's No. 17 of April 9, 1886: *ante*, No. 40.]

No. 46.

The Earl of Rosebery to Sir C. Ford.

(No. 51.) *Foreign Office, April* 30, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Consul-General Playfair's No. 2 of April 9, 1886: *ante*, No. 39.]

No. 47.

The Earl of Rosebery to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 12.) *Foreign Office, April* 30, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Consul-General Playfair's No. 2 of April 9, 1886: *ante*, No. 39.]

No. 48.

Consul-General Playfair to the Earl of Rosebery.—(*Received May* 12.)

(No. 3.) *Tlemçen, May* 6, 1886.

My Lord,

MY last despatch giving an account of the state of affairs on the frontier of Morocco was dated the 9th April, No. 2. I have made no Report since, as I had little reliable information on the subject, and I was not without hope that I might be able to visit the scene of the disturbance and ascertain the state of affairs myself.

I have just arrived here from Lalla Marnia (the French orthography for Lella Maghnia), where I waited on the Commandant Supérieur and asked him if it would be possible for me to go to Oudjda; he informed me that in quieter times he would have gladly given me the necessary escort, but that now complete anarchy prevails; there is no Government there of any kind, and that though actual fighting has ceased, every man lives "fusil en main."

I may be allowed to recapitulate what I have already reported.

Oudjda is occupied by two tribes, the Angad, who are of Berber origin, and the Mehaya, also probably Berbers, but more nomadic. The Governor, or Amel, of the place, on the part of the Sultan, was Si Abd-el-Melek, who went last year as Ambassador to Paris.

This officer, either on his own initiative or acting under orders from the Sultan, determined to weaken the strength of the Mehaya by breaking it up into four sections, instead of leaving it as heretofore under a single Caïd, Si Bou Bekr. One of the new fractions, the Achache, he placed under the authority of a Chief named Chaibi. Aboo Bekr attacked the Achache, drove them across the French frontier, and both Chiefs fell in the encounter.

Abd-el-Melek, at the head of the Angads, pursued the Mehaya, but he was defeated with great loss, and had himself to flee to Lalla Marnia, where he solicited French assistance; this, of course, was refused.

Nevertheless, as it was feared that an incursion might be made by the belligerents, the battalion of Chasseurs à Pied and the Chasseurs d'Afrique from Tlemçen were sent to Lalla Marnia, and a section of artillery and a company of Zouaves from Oran joined them, the whole being under the command of General Gand.

The Amel was conducted along the frontier as far as the nearest point to the Moroccan fortress of Adjeroud, on the sea, and there he still remains.

The fighting near Oudjda has been very heavy, and the Angads have on every occasion been defeated with great loss. I met several of their Chiefs at Marnia, where they had taken refuge with a few followers; others have fled further south and are camped on the River Kiss. Saheli, the present Chief of the Mehaya, seems to have given up the idea of any further operations, and to have retired to some distance. Under these circumstances, the presence of General Gand on the frontier seemed no longer necessary, and his column has been broken up.

How long this tranquillity may last no one can say. The French officers complain loudly of the danger to Algeria of having hostilities constantly going on in proximity to their frontier. They remember that very similar circumstances led to the campaign of 1844, which ended by the battle of Isly. They see that whenever the Sultan is engaged, as at present, in the south, his orders are disregarded at the other extremity of his dominions, and they fear that the disturbances which have their origin in Morocco may spread to Algeria. Therefore, they maintain that the much talked of "rectification of frontier" is every day becoming more necessary.

The papers do not agitate the question very much at the present moment, as they see that it is not a favourable time to clamour for an extension of territory, but it is only kept in reserve, and, like the Khoumir, the Angads and the Mehaya will reappear on the stage whenever their presence is required. In the meantime, the late troubles on the frontier will be remembered and referred to when necessary.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. L. PLAYFAIR.

No. 49.

Consul-General Playfair to the Earl of Rosebery.—(*Received May* 22.)

(No. 4.)
My Lord, *Algiers, May* 14, 1886.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Foreign Office despatch No. 1, dated the 26th ultimo, forwarding copy of a despatch from Sir John Drummond Hay, No. 17, dated the 19th idem, relative to the late disturbances on the Algerian frontier.

The actual state of the case has already been reported by me in my despatch from Tlemçen No. 3, dated the 6th instant. It is quite certain Bou Amama has had nothing whatever to do with these disturbances. I have it on excellent authority that he has been for some time, and still is, at Touat.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. L. PLAYFAIR.

No. 50.

The Earl of Rosebery to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 19.) *Foreign Office, May* 26, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Consul-General Playfair's No. 3 of May 6, 1886: *ante*, No. 48.]

No. 51.

The Earl of Rosebery to Sir Clare Ford.

(No. 56.) *Foreign Office, May* 26, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Consul-General Playfair's No. 3 of May 6, 1886: *ante*, No. 48.]

No. 52.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to the Earl of Rosebery.—(*Received June* 9.)

(No. 29.)
My Lord, *Tangier, June* 2, 1886.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 19 of the 26th ultimo, transmitting the copy of a despatch from Consul-General Playfair relative to the state of affairs on the frontier of Morocco.

With reference to this subject, tidings have reached me that the Governor of Oochda, Cid Abd-el-Malek, has been removed by the Sultan from that command, and the brother of the Military Governor of Fez, Hadj Tayeb Boo Mohammed Esherguy, has been appointed in his place.

It would appear that the Sultan disapproved of the conduct of Ben Abd-el-Malek on account of his having sought refuge on the French territory when attacked by the tribe of Mehaya, and of having asked for the armed intervention of the French military authorities. Tranquillity has since been restored on the frontier.

The Sultan has taken umbrage also on account of the great Shereef of Wazan, Hadj Abdsalam, having presented himself as a mediator between the tribes of Angud and Mehaya, for he is regarded by His Majesty as a traitor ever since he obtained French protection and had received the support of the late French Minister, M. Ordega, in his attempt to raise an insurrection against the Sultan's authority in the northern provinces.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 53.

The Earl of Rosebery to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(No. 22.) *Foreign Office, June* 15, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Consul-General Playfair's No. 4 of May 14, 1886: *ante*, No. 49.]

No. 54.

Mr. White to the Earl of Iddesleigh.—(*Received August* 25.)

(No. 50. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Tangier, August* 16, 1886.

WITH reference to past correspondence regarding French designs on this country, and to the despatches marked in the margin,* respecting the late disturbances on the Algerian frontier, I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that I have received a confidential letter from Cid Bubeker containing the following information:—

The question of the rectification of the Algerian frontier is again being pressed upon the Sultan by the French Government, the late disturbances at Wejda being put forward as the grounds for their demand.

The Sultan has been informed that these disturbances amongst the Moorish frontier tribes are a constant source of danger to Algeria, and that the French Government consider that they would be justified in marching troops across the frontier to quell such disturbances.

It is urged also that the Sultan should return to Fez, and send a strong force to Wejda to keep the tribes in submission.

M. Féraud has written to the Court that as soon as the Sultan returns from Soos to the city of Morocco he will visit the Court to discuss this question with His Majesty.

As the information hitherto imparted by Cid Bubeker† has generally been verified by subsequent events, I am inclined to attach some importance to the present communication, more especially as other circumstances appear to indicate that the French Government are still keeping steadily in view their project of rectifying their frontier at the expense of Morocco.

The recent visit of the Shereef of Wazan to Wejda, undertaken at the request of the French Government without communication with the Sultan, which caused considerable displeasure to His Shereefian Majesty, and also his return to Tangier overland through the Reef district, are generally supposed to have had in view the furtherance of French designs.

The object of the French Government has of late been to recover for the Shereef the position he formerly held, and which he lost in great measure when he placed himself under French protection about two and a-half years ago.‡ His return to Tangier from Algeria was made the occasion of a great demonstration on the part of his followers, and shortly after his arrival his two sons came from Wazan to pay their respects, accompanied by a large armed retinue, who remained here some days celebrating the Shereef's return with great parade and ostentation. No such demonstrations have been organized by his followers on his return from former expeditions, and it can only be supposed that their object on the present occasion was to impress the people and to regain his prestige.

On receipt of Cid Bubeker's letter I thought it advisable to address a confidential letter to the Vizier Cid El M'Fadl Gharneet, and repeat the warning given by Sir John Drummond Hay§ on former occasions, when the question of the Algerian frontier had been brought forward by the French Government.

I have the honour to transmit herewith translation of this letter, in which I warn Cid El M'Fadl Gharneet of the danger that would ensue to Morocco should the Sultan accede to the demands that may be put forward for the cession of Wejda or other territory on the Algerian frontier, but at the same time I urge that the Sultan should seek to meet the wishes of the French Government in all matters not affecting the integrity and independence of this country, and to maintain the most friendly relations with M. Féraud and the French Government. I further suggest that the Sultan should station at Wejda a strong force under the command of an able and trustworthy officer, in whom His Majesty could repose absolute confidence, and that this officer should be instructed to maintain tranquillity amongst the Moorish tribes near the frontier, and immediately suppress the slightest outbreak, but at the same time to carefully avoid coming into collision with the French troops or frontier tribes. I also express my readiness, should the Sultan at any time stand in need of friendly advice, to

* To Sir J. Drummond Hay, Nos. 8, 10, 12, 19, and 22, April 16, 21, 30, May 26, and June 15; Sir J. Drummond Hay, Nos. 17 and 29, April 19 and June 2, 1886.
† See No. 21 of April 29, 1886.
‡ See No. 7 of January 20, 1884.
§ See No 79 of May 14, 1882.

forward to Her Majesty's Government any communication His Majesty may be pleased to make.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 54.

Mr. White to the Vizier Cid M'Fadl Gharneet.

(Translation.)
(Secret.)
(After compliments.) *August* 14, 1886 (*Kadde* 13, 1303).

A RUMOUR has reached Tangier that the French Government are urging the Sultan to consent to the extension of the Algerian frontier to the Mouloüa, or at any rate that the Wejda district be ceded to France; and it is said that the French Minister is about to visit the Court in order to communicate personally with His Shereefian Majesty, and endeavour to persuade His Majesty to accede to the wishes of the French Government. I am told that the reason given for their desire to extend the frontier is the inconvenience and danger occasioned by the turbulence of the tribes near Wejda. It is further stated that the French Government have given notice to the Sultan that unless His Majesty returns to Fez and dispatches an expedition to reduce to order the tribes near Wejda, French troops may be sent from Algeria into Moorish territory with that object.

I am not aware what truth there may be in these rumours, but as one who has the interests of the Sultan at heart, and who at present represents the British Government, which has ever been desirous of maintaining the integrity of these dominions and the independence of His Shereefian Majesty, I deem it my duty to put His Majesty on his guard, and to submit the following observations and counsels for His Majesty's consideration:—

There can be no doubt that the French Government has for many years sought to extend its territories at the expense of the Sultan, and that the desire of the French people is and has long been to gain possession of all the country from Egypt to the Atlantic. The French newspapers make no secret of this, and frequently contain articles setting forth these views.

Tunis has already been taken possession of by France, as you are aware, and now it is to Morocco and Tripoli that they turn their eyes. I do not suppose that the French Government have any intention of immediately carrying out these ambitious schemes, but it is not unlikely that they may at present seek to take a step in this direction by advancing their frontier as far as the River Mouloüa, thus embracing Wejda, where they would establish a strong military centre, from which, when the time arrives, a dash might be made at Fez.

Should any proposition of this nature have been made by the French Government, or be made by the French Minister when he visits the Court, I would recommend that the Sultan, in friendly but firm language, decline to entertain it; but, at the same time, His Shereefian Majesty should readily accede to any request that may be made that a strong force be sent to quiet the tribes near the Algerian frontier; indeed, it would be expedient that His Majesty should always keep such a force in that district, under an able and prudent commander in whom His Majesty can repose confidence. Such commander should have orders to immediately repress the slightest disturbance amongst the Moorish tribes near the frontier, and, at the same time, to be very careful to avoid coming into collision with the troops or tribes on Algerian territory, and to maintain friendly relations with the French officials.

This commander, as I stated above, should be a man in whom His Majesty can repose absolute confidence.

The French Minister, M. Féraud, has, since his arrival in this country, shown himself amicably disposed and anxious to avoid giving rise to vexatious questions, such as were raised by his predecessor. It is very important that the Sultan and the Moorish officials should reciprocate this disposition, and should be very careful to maintain the most friendly relations with him, and that His Majesty, whilst resisting in a friendly manner all attempts to obtain a concession of territory, should be ready to meet his wishes in all matters where the integrity and independence of these dominions are not concerned.

In conclusion, I may state that should any propositions of the above-mentioned nature be made by the French Minister, and His Shereefian Majesty wish for friendly

advice, I shall be most happy to communicate to Her Majesty's Government any confidential information that His Majesty may cause to be imparted to me on the subject.

Peace!

(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 55.

Verbal Communication made to the Earl of Iddesleigh by M. Catalani, August 25, 1886.

(Private and Confidential.)

REPORTS have reached the Italian Government conveying that an active propaganda is made by French Agents in Morocco, aided by the Shereef of Wazan, in order to put that country under French Protectorate. It is alleged that the French Minister, who, it is said, belongs to the Mussulman denomination of the Essigianin, fosters the propaganda, especially through the French Consul at Mogador, and has acquired great influence with the Sultan and the Government.

Also, it is stated that a French Military Commission makes a survey of the country, especially of the strategic points; also are sent extracts of press in Algerian and French papers, advocating a French Protectorate in Morocco.

The Italian Chargé d'Affaires would be much obliged to know whether similar reports have reached the Foreign Office, and whether, on the authority of those reports, the Foreign Office thinks they are to be entirely disbelieved.

No. 56.

Mr. White to the Earl of Iddesleigh.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 52.)
My Lord, *Tangier, August* 21, 1886.

NEWS has reached Tangier of the death of Cid Hosein Ben Hashem, the powerful Chief of Aït Bu Amran, in Soos.

Cid Hosein was the head of a very influential family of Shereefs, who have always been held in veneration in Soos, where he himself exercised great personal influence, which extended over all the Shloh tribes, and, though nominally a subject of the Sultan, he was regarded almost as an independent Potentate, and was virtually beyond His Majesty's control, and a perpetual source of danger to his rule in Soos.

During the Sultan's late expedition to Soos this Chief sent two of his sons bearing presents to the Sultan, but was careful not to place himself in the Sultan's power by coming in person to His Majesty's camp.

The suddenness of Cid Hosein's death at a moment so opportune for the Sultan's interests has given rise to a report that he was poisoned by His Majesty's contrivance. I have no means of ascertaining the truth of this rumour, but the very opportuneness of his death would suffice in a country like Morocco to cause such a rumour to get abroad.

Cid Hosein was suspected of having been engaged at various times in intrigues with the French authorities to undermine the Sultan's authority in Soos and bring about a revolt.*

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 57.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Mr. White.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 1, 1886, 3·55 P.M.

IT is rumoured that French Agents in Morocco, aided by Shereef of Wazan, are actively intriguing with view to French Protectorate.

French Minister alleged to foster the propaganda through French Consul at Mogador.

* See No. 94 of September 26, 1884, and No. 8 of January 14, 1885.

French Military Commission said to be making survey of country, and French press to advocate Protectorate.

Report fully.

No. 58.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Mr. White.

(No. 33. Secret. Ext.)

Foreign Office, September 1, 1886.

Sir,

IT has been reported to Her Majesty's Government that intrigues are being actively carried on by French agents in Morocco, assisted by the Shereef of Wazan, with a view to place that country under the protectorate of France.

It is alleged that these intrigues are fostered by the French Minister in Morocco, who is stated to more especially avail himself of the services of the French Consul at Mogador for the purpose, and who is said to belong to the Mussulman sect of the Essigianin, and to have acquired great influence with the Sultan and his Government.

It is further reported that a French Military Commission is employed in surveying the country, particularly the strategic points; and that portions of the press both in France and Algeria advocate the establishment of a French Protectorate over Morocco.

I have, under these circumstances, to instruct you to institute searching inquiries into the truth of these rumours, and to furnish me with a full report on the subject.

The substance of this despatch has been sent to you by telegraph to-day.

I am, &c.

(Signed) IDDESLEIGH.

No. 59.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to M. Catalani.

(Private and Confidential.)

Foreign Office, September 2, 1886.

M. le Chargé d'Affaires,

WITH reference to the verbal communication which you were good enough to make at this Department on the 25th ultimo relative to the rumours which have reached the Italian Government on the subject of intrigues said to be in progress in Morocco with a view to the establishment of a French Protectorate over that country, and in returning to you my best thanks for this communication, I beg leave to acquaint you that no information confirmatory of the reports in question has reached Her Majesty's Government.

I have, however, lost no time in causing an inquiry to be made into the matter, and will not fail to communicate to you the result.

I have, &c.

(Signed) IDDESLEIGH.

No. 60.

Mr. White to the Earl of Iddesleigh.—(*Received September* 5, 10·30 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

Tangier, September 3, 1886, 6·20 P.M.

WITH reference to your telegram of the 1st instant, refer to my despatches Nos. 50 and 52. No French Military Commission in Morocco except that referred to in despatch No. 67 of the 23rd July, 1883.

Will report fully by post.

No. 61.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Mr. White.

(No. 34.)

Foreign Office, September 8, 1886.

Sir,

I HAVE received your despatch No. 50, Confidential, of the 16th ultimo, relative to the alleged demand by France for the rectification of the Algerian frontier, and I have

to convey to you my approval of the terms of the note you addressed to the Vizier on the subject.

I am, &c.

(Signed) IDDESLEIGH.

No. 62.

Mr. White to the Earl of Iddesleigh.—(*Received September* 11.)

(No. 55. Ext.)

Tangier, September 3, 1886.

My Lord,

IN reply to your Lordship's telegram of the 1st instant, received yesterday, I have this day had the honour to report to your Lordship, by telegraph, that with the exception of the French officers who have for some years been residing at the Shereefian Court, as reported in Sir J. Drummond Hay's despatch No. 67 of the 23rd July, 1883, there is no French Military Commission at present in Morocco. With regard to the rumoured French intrigues in this country, I referred your Lordship to my despatches No. 50 of the 16th ultimo and No. 52 of the 21st ultimo.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 63.

Mr. White to the Earl of Iddesleigh.—(*Received September* 11.)

(No. 56. Confidential.)

Tangier, September 3, 1886.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my telegram of this date, in reply to your Lordship's telegram of the 1st instant, I have the honour to report that, as far as I can learn, there is no Special French Military Commission in this country.

In the year 1877 the Sultan engaged a retired English officer to reside at the Court, and instruct the Moorish troops.* On hearing of this appointment, the French Minister induced the Sultan to accept the offer of the services of some French officers, who were accordingly sent out by the French Government.†

Since that date a certain number of French officers and non-commissioned officers have been stationed at Rabat in charge of the batteries of that town, whilst others have been continuously maintained at the Court, ostensibly as instructors of artillery, and have accompanied the Sultan on all his expeditions.

The French War Office have been careful to select for this service competent staff officers, who have served in Algeria and are acquainted with the Arabic language.

These officers study and survey the country, drawing up maps and plans which are transmitted to the French authorities in Algeria, and to the French Minister in this town, whom they also supply with information regarding all that passes at the Court.

In the year 1883, when the relations between France and Morocco had become very strained through the aggressive and indiscreet diplomacy of M. Ordega, the Sultan endeavoured to free himself from the French officers, whom he rightly regarded as mere spies; M. Ordega, however, insisted on their remaintng at the Court, and His Majesty had to give way.‡

I understand that these officers are really of no service to the Sultan, the number of men under their command for instruction being small; but the War Office at Paris has doubtless acquired through them a knowledge of a great part of this Empire, as by always accompanying the Sultan these officers have been able to penetrate to many districts hitherto unvisited by Europeans.

Several Frenchmen have of late years also travelled in an apparently private capacity, and sometimes disguised as Jews, over practically unknown parts of Morocco, some of them entering and leaving the country by way of Algeria, so that their visits attract no attention, or are even unknown at Tangier. It is supposed that these explorations are not so unconnected with the Government as they are wished to appear. I may mention the travels of M. de Foucauld from June 1883 to May 1884, M. Duveyrier in 1885, and M. de Campen in the same year.§

* See No. 26, April 14, 1877. † See No. 59, July 21, 1877. ‡ See No. 67, July 23, 1883.

§ See Royal Geographical Society's Proceedings, vol. vii, p. 547.

The press, both in France and Algeria, continues to advocate the annexation or Protectorate of Morocco; and there is no doubt that M. Ferry when Prime Minister held these views, and even went so far as to make propositions to the Spanish Government on the subject.

I inclose a number of the "Réveil du Maroc," containing an extract from an article in the "Akbar" of Algeria, in which the establishment of a Protectorate in Morocco like that in Tunis is advocated. Similar articles have appeared in other papers.

With regard to the intrigues carried on through the Shereef of Wazan and his agents, I may refer to the despatches marked in the margin,* from which your Lordship will observe that by granting protection to this Shereef the French Government secured a potent instrument for the furtherance of their ambitious designs in this country.

Their object no doubt was, at the opportune moment, to proclaim the Shereef Sultan, when it was expected that, through his prestige and spiritual influence, the greater portion of the population would rally to his flag, and he would be enabled to usurp the throne and rule under a French Protectorate.†

For a similar object the French Government engaged in intrigues through their Consul at Mogador with the Great Shereef, Hasein Ben Hashem, whose authority in the south is even greater than that of the Shereef of Wazan in the north.

He was perhaps offered the country south of the Atlas as a separate kingdom, to be governed under a French Protectorate.

With these two powerful Shereefs on their side the conquest of Morocco would have been an easy matter, provided that the non-interference of the British, Spanish, and Italian Governments could have been secured. With this object, overtures were made to the Government of Madrid for the partition of Morocco at a time when it was thought that Great Britain was too occupied elsewhere to intervene; the Spanish Government, however, declined to entertain the proposition.

The arrival of M. Féraud inaugurated a partial change in French tactics. It had been found that the overbearing and blustering policy of M. Ordega, combined with his imprudence and want of tact, was doing more harm than good to the cause of France. In M. Féraud the French Government have a diplomatist of a different school. Since his arrival at Tangier, he has succeeded in maintaining the most friendly personal relations with the Moorish authorities, as also with his colleagues; a perfect Arabic scholar, and well acquainted with the manners and customs of Oriental society: he has sought every opportunity of winning the friendship and confidence of the Sultan and his officers and of disarming suspicion, and has endeavoured to gain the good-will of the people by paying somewhat ostentatious marks of respect to their religion; as an instance, I may mention that when at the Court at Morocco he dismounted, and caused all his suite to do the same when passing in front of a sanctuary.

Whilst trying to win the confidence of the Sultan with the view to persuading His Majesty to accept a French Protectorate, M. Féraud has not lost sight of the alternative policy. As I had the honour to report in my despatch No. 50 of the 16th ultimo, every opportunity is taken of raising the prestige of the Shereef of Wazan, and the intrigues said to be still carried on through him are probably the more effective from being more secret.

Nor were the relations created with the Shereef Hasein Ben Hashem through the French Consul at Mogador neglected.‡

This Shereef died a short time since, but it is said that he has been succeeded by a son who was implicated with him in the intrigues carried on through the French Consul at Mogador.

Whilst attributing this policy to M. Féraud, I think it right to state that I have no positive proof that these intrigues are still being carried on; at the same time, I think there are good grounds for suspicion, and I know that other foreign Representatives at Tangier entertain the same opinion.

I am informed by Hadj Mohammed Torres, the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, that M. Féraud intends shortly to proceed to the Moorish Court "in a private capacity" to visit the Sultan simply as a friend, dispensing with the usual formalities of a large escort, &c.

I inquired of Hadj Mohammed Torres whether he was aware of what matters M. Féraud was going to treat. His Excellency replied that M. Féraud had told him it was to be a mere complimentary visit, as there were no matters of importance to be discussed.

It is supposed that the real object of this visit is to endeavour to induce the

* No. 29, April 4; No. 30, April 7; Nos. 35 and 36, April 12, 1884.
† See No. 38, April 25, 1884.
‡ See No. 52, August 21, 1886.

Sultan to consent to an extension of the Algerian frontier, and possibly to feel the ground with the view to a Protectorate.*

A rumour has lately been current here that a French Company have obtained a concession for the construction of a railway from Algeria towards Tangier. I am not, however, inclined to think that there is any truth in this rumour. It is possible, however, that the application has been renewed for a railroad to Wejda,† though I have no information as to such an application, and Hadj Mohammed Torres tells me he has heard nothing on the subject of railroads.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 63.

Extract from the "Réveil du Maroc" of July 21, 1886.

"L'AKBAR" D'ALGER.—En réponse à notre article, "Le Maroc aux Marocains," paru dans le "Réveil" du 30 Juin dernier, un journal d'Algérie, "l'Akbar," en publie, pour ainsi dire, la contre-partie, sous le titre de "Le Maroc aux Français."

Après avoir donné son approbation à la description que nous avons faite de l'état de désorganisation dans lequel se trouve le Maroc, notre confrère Algérien considère cette région comme vouée à devenir la proie de quelque Puissance Européenne. On ne saisira, dit-il, d'un prétexte quelconque pour porter la guerre en ce pays, afin d'y implanter une domination nouvelle.

A la suite de cette prophétie, le rédacteur de "l'Akbar" trouve étrange que nous ayons conclu en disant que le Maroc devait être aux Marocains, et il ajoute:—

"Comment cela?

"Il (le 'Réveil') veut la réorganisation de tous les services administratifs à la tête desquels se trouveraient des auxiliaires loyaux, intelligents, dévoués, résolus à mettre un terme à tout abus, à propager au contraire l'instruction et les idées de progrès.

"Cela est facile à dire, mais à réaliser point. Il faudrait d'abord commencer par réformer les mœurs et les coutumes invétérées du peuple Marocain.

"Les auxiliaires modèles ne peuvent être trouvés dans un milieu pourri, livré à toutes les basses intrigues, à toutes les mauvaises passions et surtout au fanatisme.

"Aussi la question Marocaine nous semble sans issue de ce côté.

"La plus favorable qu'on puisse trouver pour sa grandeur et son indépendance serait de soumettre l'Empire du Maroc au Protectorat Français, comme cela a eu lieu pour la Tunisie.

"L'autonomie du pays serait conservée, et les descendants de l'Empereur continuerait à hériter de la Couronne.

"Il n'y aurait de changement que dans l'administration. Un Résident Français à la tête des principaux services avec des fonctionnaires Français et Musulmans donnerait impulsion aux affaires du pays.

"Dans de pareilles conditions on pourrait faire prospérer des industries Françaises, protéger le commerce international en prenant des mesures qui assureraient la sécurité de l'intérieur du Royaume.

"Un corps d'armée Français serait là pour parer à toute éventualité et pour réprimer tout mouvement insurrectionnel.

"Voilà ce qu'il serait nécessaire de faire pour relever un pays possédant des richesses naturelles, mais que l'ignorance et la barbarie des authoctones empêchent d'exploiter.

"Nulle Puissance n'est en meilleure situation que la France pour accomplir cette tâche digne de sa haute mission civilisatrice.

"Elle est à peine séparée du Maroc par la Méditerranée et de plus elle possède une Colonie limitrophe, l'Algérie, dont la prospérité ne tarderait pas à rayonner au delà des frontières de la province d'Oran.

"Notre conclusion à nous est donc que le Maroc ne doit pas être aux Marocains, mais aux Français.

"C'est le plus grand bonheur qui puisse lui arriver."

"L'Akbar," dans sa citation, a oublié de mentionner le remède que nous proposions d'apporter à la situation actuelle, c'est-à-dire d'avoir auprès du Chef de l'État les Représentants des nations civilisées. Comme nous le disions, ceux-ci, par leurs conseils,

* See No. 50, August 16, 1886.
† See No. 39, May 24, 1885.

parviendraient certainement à faire comprendre au Sultan l'intérêt qu'il y aurait pour lui d'avoir un entourage s'inspirant des idées de progrès, et lui désigneraient les fonctionnaires "probes et loyaux" à placer à la tête des services administratifs; n'en déplaise à notre confrère Algérien, des hommes de cette catégorie ne sont pas introuvables au Maroc.

Quant au remède que "l'Akbar" lui-même propose, le "Maroc aux Français," nous lui répondrons en retournant sa phrase; cela est facile à dire, mais à réaliser point. Ah! s'il était possible que la France pût implanter ici sa domination par les voies pacifiques, nous vous tendrions la main, car,—nous l'avons toujours dit,—la France nous paraît la plus apte à accomplir "la tâche digne de sa haute mission civilisatrice" dont vous parlez.

Mais nous vous le demandons en toute sincérité: Croyez-vous que l'Espagne laisserait un tel fait s'accomplir sans faire entendre ses protestations? Et l'Angleterre, qui tient à Gibraltar presque autant qu'à son Empire Indien, croyez-vous qu'elle laisserait s'installer en face d'elle une nation Européenne, et qu'elle voudrait bien fermer les yeux? Qui sait même si l'Allemagne, toujours en quête d'embarras extérieurs à susciter à la France, ne trouverait pas là l'occasion propice pour l'embarquer dans quelque fâcheuse aventure? Or la France, à peine sortie de ses guerres de la Tunisie et du Tonkin, a plus que jamais besoin de paix; le rédacteur de "l'Akbar," quoique assoiffé de conquêtes nouvelles, ne devrait pourtant pas l'ignorer.

Quant à s'approprier le Maroc par les armes, il n'y faut pas songer. Jamais le Gouvernement Français ne trouverait dans le Parlement une majorité disposée à voter les crédits pour une pareille campagne; l'exemple que la Chambre des Députés a fourni récemment au sujet des crédits destinés à l'occupation du Tonkin en est une preuve convaincante, car ces crédits n'ont été votés qu'à une faible majorité de quatre voix, alors cependant que l'honneur du drapeau Français était en jeu.

Mais "l'Akbar," en étalant ses idées au grand jour, n'a fait que nuire à la cause qu'il défend. Il a tout bonnement fait le jeu de M. de Bismarck, qui ne cherche qu'à éveiller les susceptibilités de l'Espagne à cet endroit. Et comme précédemment, nous concluons. Dans l'impossibilité de nous en rendre les maîtres, laissons "le Maroc aux Marocains;" cherchons seulement à y introduire le progrès par tous les moyens dont nous pouvons disposer.

No. 64.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Mr. Egerton.

(No. 614.) *Foreign Office, September* 11, 1886.

[Transmits copies of Mr. White's No. 52 of August 21, 1886: *ante*, No. 56.]

No. 65.

Mr. White to the Earl of Iddesleigh.—(*Received September* 13.)

(No. 57.) *Tangier, September* 4, 1886.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the new French steam-ship "Gascogne," 7,200 tons, under the command of Captain Sautellier, of the French navy, arrived here yesterday morning from Marseilles, Oran, Algiers, and Gibraltar, and left again for Lisbon after a stay of a few hours.

The "Gascogne" belongs to the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique, and is on a trial trip as far as Havre. Amongst other guests, she has on board M. Granet, the French Minister of Posts and Telegraphs; M. Pallain, the Director-General of French Customs; and Colonel Lichtenstein, Aide-de-camp to President Grévy.

The French Minister, accompanied by the officers of his Legation in uniform, went on board the "Gascogne" on her arrival to receive M. Granet; and when the whole party subsequently landed, they were met at the custom-house by Cid Hadj Mohammed Torres, the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 66.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Sir Clare Ford.

(No. 85.) *Foreign Office, September* 13, 1886

[Transmits copies of Mr. White's No. 52 of August 21, 1886: *ante*, No. 56.]

No. 67.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Mr. Egerton.

(No. 626. Secret.) *Foreign Office, September* 18, 1886.

[Transmits copies of No. 33, Secret, to Mr. White, dated September 1; to M. Catalani, Private and Confidential, dated September 2; and Mr. White's telegram of September 3, 1886: *ante*, Nos. 58, 59, and 60.]

No. 68.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Mr. Egerton.

(No. 627. Confidential.) *Foreign Office, September* 18, 1886.

[Transmits copies of Mr. White's No. 50, Confidential, of August 16, and No. 34 to ditto, dated September 8, 1886: *ante*, Nos. 54 and 61.]

No. 69.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Mr. Scott.

(No. 455. Secret.) *Foreign Office, September* 22, 1886.

[Transmits copies of M. Catalani's letter of August 25; to ditto, dated September 2; No. 33, Secret, to Mr. White, dated September 1; and Mr. White's telegram of September 3, 1886: *ante*, Nos. 55, 58, 59, and 60.]

No. 70.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Mr. Egerton.

(No. 632. Secret.) *Foreign Office, September* 22, 1886.

[Transmits copy of M. Catalani's letter of August 25, 1886: *ante*, No. 55.]

No. 71.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Sir J. S. Lumley.

(No. 241. Secret.) *Foreign Office, September* 23, 1886.

[Transmits copies of M. Catalani's letter of August 25; to ditto, dated September 2; Mr. White's telegram of September 3; and No. 33, Secret, to ditto, dated September 1, 1886: *ante*, Nos. 55, 58, 59, and 60.]

No. 72.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Sir Clare Ford.

(No. 90. Secret.) *Foreign Office, September* 23, 1886.

[Transmits copies of M. Catalani's letter of August 25; to ditto, dated September 2; Mr. White's telegram of September 3; and No. 33, Secret, to ditto, dated September 1, 1886: *atne*, Nos. 55, 58, 59, and 60.]

No. 73.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to M. Catalani.

(Private and Confidential.)
M. le Chargé d'Affaires, *Foreign Office, September* 23, 1886.

WITH reference to the verbal communication made by you on the 25th ultimo and to my reply of the 2nd instant on the subject of alleged French intrigues in Morocco, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of a Report which has been received from Mr. White, Acting British Chargé d'Affaires at Tangier, on the matter.*

I trust that this communication will be considered as strictly private and confidential.

I have, &c.
(Signed) IDDESLEIGH.

No. 74.

Consul-General Drummond Hay to the Earl of Iddesleigh.—(Received September 28.)

(No. 3. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Tripoli, September* 15, 1886.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 2, Confidential, of the 9th April last, I have the honour to report that encounters between the tribes on the Tripoli-Tunisian frontier have continued to occur from time to time, and have been made the subject of complaints by M. Cambon, the French Minister Resident at Tunis, to the Government of this country, through the French Consul-General here. The Vali has maintained throughout that the Tripolitan tribes have either acted on the defensive, or attacked and pursued the "Werghuma" on Tripolitan territory. It is, of course, very difficult in such cases to ascertain the truth of statements made by one side or the other, though I am inclined to believe that the "Werghuma" have been generally, if not always, the aggressors. It would appear that two or three rifles seized by the "Werghuma" in these encounters have been sent to Paris, as furnishing proof of the encouragement given by the Tripolitan Government to these pretended invasions of Tunisian territory, by providing the Arabs with arms of precision.

Another subject of controversy has lately arisen with reference to some 10,000 Tunisian refugees, the remnant of those who, to the number of about 60,000, took refuge in this country on the occupation of Tunis by the French. The French Consul-General has repeatedly urged this Government to force the remaining refugees to recross the frontier; but the Vali, whilst expressing his willingness that they should do so, has refused to use force to compel them, as he considers it would be an act of injustice, and would, moreover, create a very bad feeling amongst their co-religionists in this country.

It is reported here that the French intend shortly to fortify Zerzis, a seaport on the extreme southern limit of the Tunisian frontier, and to garrison it with 1,000 men. The Vali tells me that such a step on the part of the French would be immediately followed by a reinforcement of the Turkish military posts near the frontier; and the Commander-in-chief of the military forces here proceeded a few days ago to inspect the frontier, and I am informed that barracks are to be immediately erected at Zuara to accommodate additional troops.

It is, I think, not improbable that these questions may ultimately lead to serious complications between the French and Turkish Governments. The Vali has assured me, confidentially, that in the event of the French attempting an invasion of this province, they will not be allowed to make a military promenade, as they did in Tunis; and that, in addition to the vigorous resistance that will be offered by the regular troops, he will arm the Arabs to act as auxiliaries, and that his plans are matured for raising the whole Mussulman population in this country, as well as in Tunis and Algeria, and in the interior on the borders of those countries, where a Holy War against the French would be proclaimed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. R. DRUMMOND HAY.

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* No. 63.

No. 75.

M. Catalani to the Earl of Iddesleigh.—(Received September 28.)

(Private and Confidential.)
My Lord, 19, *Grosvenor Square, W., September* 25, 1886.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the letter your Lordship has been good enough to send me on the 23rd instant, containing a Report of Mr. White on the subject of alleged French intrigues in Morocco.

I have the honour to offer your Lordship my very best thanks for that communication, which I have forwarded to Count de Robilant, with the request that it is to be considered as strictly private and confidential.

I have, &c.
(Signed) T. CATALANI.

No. 76.

Mr. Egerton to the Earl of Iddesleigh.—(Received September 29.)

(No. 500. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Paris, September* 27, 1886.

WITH reference to your Lordship's No. 632, Secret, of the 22nd instant, inclosing a copy of a Memorandum of a verbal communication of M. Catalani respecting the activity of French agents in Morocco, and to previous communications with which your Lordship has favoured me on the subject of the relations of that country with France, I have the honour to state that I have seen nothing in the press, and have heard nothing which gives any backing to statements respecting French propaganda.

In speaking generally to M. de Freycinet, I have mentioned the various points alluded to in the Memorandum, and his Excellency has very positively assured me that so far from there being any French activity in Morocco, he had given particular instructions to the French Minister to remain as quiet as possible.

He said he had quite sufficient on his hands, and did not wish for any fresh questions or frontier complications for France in that part of the world, and he had every reason to believe that M. Féraud had faithfully complied with his instructions.

As for the French Military Commission alluded to, the Sultan was anxious for a map to be made of a portion of his dominions, and asked for French technical officers for that purpose: these were supplied, and a survey, a very rough and imperfect one, by the way, said M. de Freycinet, was made by these officers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWIN H. EGERTON.

No. 77.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Mr. Egerton.

(No. 645.) *Foreign Office, September* 29, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Mr. White's No. 57 of September 4, 1886: *ante*, No. 65.]

No. 78.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Sir Clare Ford.

(No. 94. Secret.) *Foreign Office, October* 2, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Mr. White's No. 56, Confidential, of September 3, 1886: *ante*, No. 63.]

No. 79.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Mr. Egerton.

(No. 661. Secret.) *Foreign Office, October* 2, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Mr. White's No. 56, Confidential, of September 3, 1886: *ante*, No. 63.]

No. 80.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Sir J. S. Lumley.

(No. 259. Secret.) *Foreign Office, October* 4, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Mr. White's No. 56, Confidential, of September 3, 1886: *ante*, No. 63.]

No. 81.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 476. Secret.) *Foreign Office, October* 4, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Mr. White's No. 56, Confidential, of September 3, 1886: *ante*, No. 63.]

No. 82.

Mr. White to the Earl of Iddesleigh.—(Received October 7.)

(No. 61. Confidential.)

Tangier, September 29, 1886.

My Lord,

WITH reference to that portion of my despatch No. 56 of the 3rd instant which refers to the French officers residing at the Court in the capacity of Instructors to the Sultan's artillery, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that it appears that these officers are now recognized as attached to the French Legation, for I am informed by Kaid Maclean, formerly of the 69th Regiment and now Instructor of the Moorish infantry, that he has lately received a letter from a French Commandant written on paper stamped "Légation de la République Française au Maroc: Mission Militaire."

I have, &c.

(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 83.

M. Catalani to the Earl of Iddesleigh.—(Received October 7.)

(Private and Confidential.)

Italian Embassy, London, October 4, 1886.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 2nd instant,* by which you have been so good to send me a copy of a Report from Her Majesty's Minister at Paris on the subject of alleged French intrigues in Morocco.†

I beg leave to offer to your Lordship my very best thanks for that communication, which I have forwarded to his Excellency Count Robilant, with the remark that it is to be considered as strictly private and confidential.

I have, &c.

(Signed) T. CATALANI.

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* Not printed.

† No. 76.

No. 84.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 484. Confidential.) *Foreign Office, October* 9, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Mr. Egerton's No. 500, Confidential, of September 27, 1886: *ante*, No. 76.]

No. 85.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Sir Clare Ford.

(No. 97. Confidential.) *Foreign Office, October* 9, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Mr. Egerton's No. 500, Confidential, of September 27, 1886: *ante*, No. 76.]

No. 86.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Mr. Egerton.

(No. 679. Confidential.) *Foreign Office, October* 9, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Consul-General Drummond Hay's No. 3, Confidential, of September 15, 1886: *ante*, No. 74.]

No. 87.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Mr. White.

(No. 37. Confidential.) *Foreign Office, October* 9, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Mr. Egerton's No. 500, Confidential, of September 27, 1886: *ante*, No. 76.]

No. 88.

Sir J. Pauncefote to Consul Sandwith.

(No. 7. Confidential.) *Foreign Office, October* 9, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Consul-General Drummond Hay's No. 3, Confidential, of September 15, 1886: *ante*, No. 74.]

No. 89.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Mr. Egerton.

(No. 692. Confidential.) *Foreign Office, October* 13, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Mr. White's No. 61 of September 29, 1886: *ante*, No. 82.]

No. 90.

Mr. White to the Earl of Iddesleigh.—(Received October 14.)

(No. 64. Secret.)

Tangier, October 7, 1886.

My Lord,

WITH reference to former correspondence regarding French intrigues in Morocco and to my despatches No. 52 of the 21st August and No. 57 of the 4th ultimo, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that M. Scovasso, the Italian Minister, has informed me that he has succeeded in obtaining a copy of a letter which had been addressed to Cid Hosein ben Haschem in December last by M. Jacquety, Chancellor of the French Consulate at Mogador, writing by direction of the French Consul, in which he requests him to direct his son, at that time with the Sultan at Morocco, to visit him

at Mogador to discuss affairs which could not be committed to writing. He further read to me the translation of another letter dated January of this year which M. Jacquety had addressed the son of Cid Hosein, in which he stated that he had written to his father, but received no answer, and could not imagine the reasons of his timidity and slackness.

He urged him either to come himself to Mogador or to send some person of confidence to discuss with him "that which they desire," again saying that it cannot be committed to writing. He further says that the matter had been referred to the French Government, who "hoped that their object would soon be accomplished." He proceeds to contrast the French with the Spaniards, saying that no trust can be reposed in the latter, who have not the power of carrying out their wishes, whilst France is powerful and has many men of great capacity, and he cites the case of Tunis, "where the Mussulmans are well treated and prosperous under the protection of France."

M. Scovasso merely read the translation of these letters over to me, but the above is a correct abstract of their contents. He begged me to observe the greatest secrecy on the subject, as if any suspicion should arise that he had obtained these copies steps might be taken to prevent further news reaching him.

It appears from these letters that there had been previous negotiations and intrigues, and that the French Consul desired a personal interview to arrange final plans, whilst, at the same time, the complaint that Cid Hosein ben Hashem had not replied to M. Jacquety's letters seems to show that, probably on account of the Sultan's impending expedition to Soos, this Chief did not deem the moment opportune for further negotiations, or perhaps he was hesitating whether he would not perhaps be incurring too great a risk by continuing these intrigues.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HERBERT E. WHITE.

No. 91.

Consul-General Sir R. L. Playfair to the Earl of Iddesleigh.—(*Received October* 20.)

(No. 5.)
My Lord, *Algiers, October* 15, 1886.

IT may interest your Lordship to know that one of the sons of the Chérif of Wazan. a young man 18 years of age, lately in the "Lycée" here, has engaged himself as a "Spahi" in the French army, and is stationed at Medeah.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. L. PLAYFAIR.

No. 92.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Sir J. S. Lumley.

(No. 266. Confidential.) *Foreign Office, October* 28, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Mr. Egerton's No. 500, Confidential, of September 27, 1886: *ante*, No. 76.]

No. 93.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Mr. Kirby Green.

Foreign Office, October 28, 1886.

(No. 42.)

[Transmits copy of Consul-General Playfair's No. 5 of October 15, 1886: *ante*, No. 91.]

No. 94.

Mr. Kirby Green to the Earl of Iddesleigh.—(*Received November* 8.)

(No. 68.)
My Lord, *Tangier, October* 27, 1886.

I HAVE the honour to report, for your Lordship's information, that M. Féraud, the French Representative, left this on the 24th instant in the French Government dispatch-boat "Hirondelle" for Mogador, whence he purposes proceeding to the city of Morocco, to visit the Sultan, who is residing there for the present.

M. Féraud is accompanied by a large staff, several of which are military men, and other persons who have come from France expressly to join his Mission.

Though my French colleague prior to starting assured me that he had no important matters to discuss with the Sultan, and that he merely intended to urge upon His Shereefian Majesty the necessity of marching with the times, still I think it would probably be found that the question of the rectification of the Mauro-Algerine frontier alluded to in Mr. White's Confidential despatch No. 50 to your Lordship of the 16th August last will not have been left untouched by M. Féraud.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 95.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Sir Clare Ford.

(No. 115. Secret.) *Foreign Office, November* 15, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Mr. White's No. 64, Secret, of October 7, 1886: *ante*, No. 90.]

No. 96.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Sir J. S. Lumley.

(No. 299. Secret.) *Foreign Office, November* 15, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Mr. White's No. 64, Secret, October 7, 1886: *ante*, No. 90.]

No. 97.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 522. Secret.) *Foreign Office, November* 15, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Mr. White's No. 64, Secret, October 7, 1886: *ante*, No. 90.]

No. 98.

Mr. Kirby Green to the Earl of Iddesleigh.—(*Received November* 20.)

(No. 72. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Tangier, November* 13, 1886.

I HAVE the honour to report, for your Lordship's information, that I have learnt from a source to which some credence must be attached that M. Féraud, the French Representative in Morocco, is about to be recalled by his Government and to be replaced by M. Roustan, of Tunis notoriety.

M. Roustan's advent in this country would necessarily bode no good to the Sultan and to the independence of Morocco.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 99.

Sir Clare Ford to the Earl of Iddesleigh.—(*Received November* 20.)

(No. 118. Confidential.)

Madrid, November 17, 1886.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship translation of a telegram which appeared in the "Imparcial" of yesterday as proceeding from Paris, and quoting an article from the French newspaper "Le Matin," relative to an understanding alleged to have been arrived at between Spain and France with regard to Morocco.

As I had occasion to call yesterday at the Ministry of State, where I saw Señor Agüera, the Under-Secretary, I inquired of him whether he had seen the telegram in question, and, if so, what truth was to be attached to it. He replied that he had noticed it, and that the statement contained in it was devoid of all foundation.

This reply was confirmed by Señor Moret, the Spanish Minister of State, whom I saw later, and who informed me that he attributed the origin of the report to Señor Zorilla, who was always on the alert to embarrass the Spanish Government if possible. He added that he wished to speak some day with me on the subject of Morocco as regarded the interests of different foreign Powers in that Empire, but for the moment he did not pursue the subject further.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS CLARE FORD.

Inclosure in No. 99.

Extract from "El Imparcial" of November 16, 1886.

(Translation.)

SPAIN AND FRANCE IN MOROCCO.—In a short article published to-day by "Le Matin," it is stated that the agreement which has been arrived at by France and Spain with a view to common action in Morocco has been favourably received by the Italians and all the other Europeans established in that Empire.

England is the only Power which displays little satisfaction at the *entente* between France and Spain.

The journal in question adds that the close alliance of France and Spain is counted upon as an initiation of a policy of regeneration in the Moorish Empire.

As soon as this alliance has once been realized, it would at once receive the support of the other European Governments.

Thanks to it, Italy and Germany would be able to develop their interests in the Sheriffian territory.

England would simply have to give up her pretensions: "Le Matin" alludes to M. Castelar, and supposes that the eminent orator will be able, sooner or later, although in an unofficial manner, to bring about the realization of this alliance, which would be highly agreeable to the Colony resident in Morocco.

This declaration of the "Matin" requires a correction, for as the Moorish question is an exclusively diplomatic one, M. Castelar is entirely without authority to discuss it.

No. 100.

Mr. Kirby Green to the Earl of Iddesleigh.—(*Received November* 24.)

(No. 73. Most Secret and Confidential.)

Tangier, November 14, 1886.

My Lord,

PERHAPS your Lordship, bearing in mind the recent reports in the French and Spanish press of Señor Castelar's proceedings in Paris with regard to the alleged offer of the French Government to come to an understanding with Spain as to the future of Morocco and the expulsion of the English from Gibraltar, and also the possible appearance of M. Roustan in this country, reported yesterday in my despatch No. 72, Confidential, will hold me excused for troubling your Lordship with the following observations on our general and particular interests in this country, and the manner in which the latter, if need be, should be secured.

Our general interests in Morocco are entirely commercial, and therefore are connected with the welfare of the whole of the country.

Our particular interests are more especially attached with that portion of the Moorish Empire which forms the southern shores of the Straits of Gibraltar. The question of who holds or is to hold that strip of Maroquine territory is one which cannot be ignored by English statesmen. It is of such high importance that it caps that of our free-way through Egypt. The slightest change arising in the present political position of the strategical points of the African shores of the Straits might render of little value not only all we have secured at such great cost in Egypt, but also our stations of Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, and even as far down as Aden and Perim.

Up to the present time, by the great energy and influence of my predecessor, Sir John Drummond Hay, and the consummate talent he showed in sheltering the Moorish Government from the attempted encroachments of its neighbours, a disruption of the Moorish Empire has been prevented. But my predecessor has taken away with him in his retirement the conviction that during the whole of the long years he was here he never was able to arrest the decay and the suicidal tendencies with which the Moorish Government is afflicted, and that these ills are destined sooner or later to bring about a dissolution which will end in a scramble for the Moorish heritage.

Morocco being thus certain to pass into the hands of strangers, it is impossible to leave for the last hour the consideration of the safety of the free passage of the Straits of Gibraltar. That freedom of passage will disappear the moment Tangier ceases to be in the hands and under the control of the Moorish Government, or if Tangier is not held by Great Britain.

I venture here to borrow a present-day newspaper expedient to bring under your Lordship's immediate comprehension the importance of the position occupied by Tangier on the Straits of Gibraltar, by inserting in this paragraph a rough Sketch-map of the Straits.

Your Lordship will observe that our possession of Gibraltar only neutralizes the Spanish one of Ceuta, on the opposite shore, and that if Spain had possession of the whole of the Moorish coast depicted, Gibraltar, standing isolated, would be of very little value to us indeed. This being so, of how much less value would Gibraltar be if France replaced the Moor by annexing his country, or by establishing over it a Protectorate similar to that of Tunis?

A glance at the Sketch-map is sufficient to recall to mind how narrow is the only waterway into the Mediterranean, and that through that way every steamer has to pass going eastward or coming westward, and that also no steamer proceeding to or coming from our Indian Empire, or our great Colonies beyond, by the Suez Canal, can more avoid passing Gibraltar and Tangier than it can avoid Port Saïd and Ismaïlia. To record patent facts thus reiteratedly may sound at first absurd, but your Lordship will perhaps pardon me if I fear not being able to sufficiently clearly convey by words what I see here with my eyes every hour of the day. Here on the African shores of the Straits of Gibraltar I cannot look out upon the channel without being immediately forcibly reminded that I am watching the most important high-road of our navigation eastwards, for steamers never cease passing. Half-a-dozen may always be counted on as being within range of sight, and the majority of them bearing the English flag. And it is here, too, that one can see at the same glance that this northern gateway of the Suez Canal is in no way secured by our fortress at Gibraltar. Gibraltar is no naval port, the vessels lying under its guns being unable to shelter themselves from the fire of batteries on Spanish territory. Our fortress can only cover the passage in or out of the Mediterranean; it can hardly secure a safe run through the Straits themselves.

It could do so, however, if Tangier remained always in its present state, or if the Moorish port was in British hands. A diagonal course steered by a steamer from Gibraltar to Tangier, or *vice versâ*, would at all times enable it to gain the high sea with but small risks.

These risks would become insurmountable the day Tangier fell into French hands, for not only is Tangier capable of being rendered an impregnable fortress, but it also offers many advantages and facilities for being transformed into a great naval port.

It is, I am sure, unnecessary for me to dilate on the disastrous consequences of such a contingency.

Our special interest as to the possession of a certain point of the African shore of the Gibraltar Straits being thus established, I must revert to the question of the need of a determination being taken without delay in view of impending changes here in the present political state of things which are apparently inevitable.

The utter incapacity of the Sultan and his Ministers to march with the times; the greater knowledge acquired daily by European Governments and peoples of the natural and commercial resources of Morocco; the conviction of some of these European Governments that from the African shores of the Straits of Gibraltar the highway to India and the further East can be controlled—all are forces which are actively working towards the disappearance of native dominion.

Yesterday Sir John Drummond Hay was able to check a too obvious attempt made by France through M. Ordega to snatch the coveted possession. But it is a question whether I should succeed in following my predecessor's steps if to-morrow the news was to reach us that M. Féraud had so worked upon the Sultan's fears that His Shereefian Majesty had elected to accept that protection which might otherwise place under the Shereefian umbrella the Sultan's rival, the Shereef of Wazan, or some other equally influential hereditary saint from the Soos country.

For Her Majesty's Government to conjure away these dangers by simply deciding upon maintaining the *status quo* in Morocco is impossible. The attempt to follow a somewhat similar policy in favour of a greater and a much more civilized Mahommedan Power has been sufficiently arduous to prevent all encouragement for its repetition in this direction. Besides, the Ottoman Government has never refused to progress, and it has progressed, but the Moorish Government not only declines to advance, but it daily recedes.

Of course, there is no need to precipitate the decease of Moorish supremacy, and as long as its life can be maintained there may be a distinct gain in the shape of a political squall being avoided; but the moment all that is infamous in the shape of a Government—universal pillage by the Governors of the governed; periodical famines of the most terrible nature through the apathy of the Administration; persistence in the Slave Trade; and a determination to resist every development of the natural resources of the country—must be championed in European Councils, it will be understood that no Government could justify the advocacy of such a cause merely because otherwise a crisis of a serious, but a curative, character would have to be faced; and to let the Moorish Government to come by its merited end neither can be permitted, except Tangier reverts to be, after a lapse of two centuries, a British possession.

As for the question of our general interests in Morocco—the Empire of Morocco behind the Straits of Gibraltar—they are, as I have already said, entirely commercial. Their importance is considerable, for they now nearly reach 2,000,000*l.* annually of British imports and exports; but unless a miracle can be expected to arise and reform the Moorish Administration, the usual force of events will cause Morocco to be merged into the Barbary possessions of France.

This will come to pass sooner or later, though I have no doubt it may be somewhat retarded by the opposition of Spain, an opposition which can only end by forming the pair to that of Italy in the Tunisian question.

The Moorish Government counts much upon this support of Spain, as well as upon that of England, Germany, and Italy, and therefore will be all the more likely to put itself with inconsiderate precipitation under French protection when it discovers that it can only dispose of the moral and not material support of its friends.

Having enumerated the outside forces which may bring about the end of the Shereefian Administration in Morocco, I must not omit that internal dangers tending to the same end also exist and are at work in the country.

The most serious and alarming of these is the system sanctioned under the Convention of Madrid of July 1880 of Diplomatic and Consular protection in Morocco of natives. By this apparent contrivance for evading the occurrence of dangerous questions with foreign Governments through the unpleasant contact of their merchants with the

rough and ready ways of the Moorish local authorities, the Sultan's Government is seing itself rapidly deprived of all jurisdiction over all its subjects who have a few dollars to their names. If nothing else intervenes in the meantime, before a decade passes this system of foreign protection will have quietly set aside all native government, and have distributed among those countries whose Representatives shall have been the least scrupulous in according to their subjects the privileges of the abuse sanctioned by the aforesaid Convention all administrative power.

Yet another internal danger exists to bring about, perhaps even an hour sooner than expected, an acute crisis of the Morocco question.

The Sultanate of Morocco is an elective one. There are upwards of two thousand members of the Shereefian family eligible for election. Since early in this century the reigning Sultan has been able so to manage as to make sure before his demise of the election of his nominee; but in former times the death of a Sultan was generally the signal for an interlude of three or four Sultans, whose strength had to be tried among their respective factions before the country could know again a single Sovereign. The weakening effect in the Government of the system of protection, and other similar disintegrating causes, I fear, may revive at an unexpected moment the old scramble for the Sultanate. Morocco has now been brought by modern means of conveyance far too close to the civilized world to be allowed to ventilate for any appreciable time, according to its old ways, its dynastic struggles. Such political complications would result in French intervention as soon as they arose.

Under all these circumstances, our particular interests in maintaining at all hazards an open way through the Straits of Gibraltar ought to find us, at the critical moment, ready with a plan for action.

That plan should be the seizure of Tangier before it could become known to any foreign Government—the place to be held either permanently or until such time as proper steps could be arranged and taken for preventing it passing out of hands equally satisfactory to us as are the Moorish at present.

Should Her Majesty's Government coincide with the views I have set forth, everything should be properly prepared, lest sudden action should become needful. A couple of regiments from Gibraltar with a proper contingent of engineers and artillerymen ought always to be ready for being thrown into Tangier. The place has fine batteries, but only a few ragged artillerymen to man them, and it would be the duty of the British Representatives here to so prepare the way that no difficulty should be encountered by the incoming garrison, which, when once landed, would be quickly able to make the place capable of repelling most hostile comers.

If, however, a more temporizing course should be advisable, and time not be too pressing, the dispatch of a couple of iron-clads to hold Tangier Bay until further measures should be needful might suffice.

Of course, I give this opinion on military matters with the greatest diffidence. The time of the crisis ought not to find us without the best and highest professional Reports in this direction.

In conclusion, I hope I shall not meet with your Lordship's disapproval for having ventured, so shortly after my arrival in this country, to trespass on your Lordship's valuable time with this Report. Though it is my firm belief that, however strong a prop may be, it cannot sustain a substance that has no cohesion in itself, still I can assure your Lordship that I shall do my best to prevent difficulties and mischief arising unnecessarily in Morocco.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

P.S.—Having submitted the above despatch to Mr. White for perusal, he has called my attention to despatch No. 24 of the 24th March, 1884, marked Secret, addressed by Sir John Drummond Hay to Earl Granville. I find that I have had the good fortune to have been echoing the conclusions of my predecessor on this important matter.

W. K. G.

Annex.

Sir J. Drummond Hay to Earl Granville.

(No. 24. Secret.) *Tangier, March* 24, 1884.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 7 of the 8th instant, transmitting the substance of a despatch from Count Nigra to M. Mancini, in which it is suggested that some steps might be taken by the Governments of Great Britain, Italy, and Spain to represent to the French Government the complications which might ensue from the action of their Representative at Tangier.

With reference to this subject I have now the honour to transmit the translation of a secret letter addressed to me by the Vizier Mukhtar, by order of the Sultan, in which His Shereefian Majesty solicits the friendly action of Her Majesty's Government to "ward off the danger which threatens His Majesty's dominions, and stop the hand of the enemy from being laid on them."

The Vizier does not mention who is the enemy, but there is no doubt that France is the Power alluded to. The Vizier observes that it is needless for him to make known to me what has occurred, as "it is manifest to all."

The proceedings of M. Ordega in affording protection to the Great Shereef of Wazan, and to his family and dependents, contrary to Treaty, and in having insisted that French citizens should be allowed to travel in the lawless country of Reef, where the Sultan has little or no power of control, and the general menacing and dictatorial attitude which M. Ordega assumes in treating with the Sultan's Ministers or Governors, or with other local authorities, have no doubt given rise to grave apprehensions on the part of the Sultan, that the object of the French Government is to seek for a pretext for breaking off relations, and finally to take possession of the country.

In the passage where the Vizier states that Regulations are infringed he no doubt refers to the stipulations of the Convention of Madrid, which has become a dead letter in every respect, the French having set the example in showing a total disregard for the terms of the stipulations, and their example having been followed by the Representatives of other Powers, Great Britain included, who claim to be placed on the footing of the most favoured nation. The Regulations about taxation are not carried into execution, and the Moorish authorities dare not enforce them so long as foreign Consular officers, especially the French, refuse to allow that persons under their protection be required to pay taxes.

At the meetings of the foreign Representatives at Tangier, both before and after the Madrid Conference, it will be found by the language I then held that I foresaw the evils which have ensued from the extension of protection, and I foretold that it would finally tend to subvert all government in this country.

On the 20th instant M. Ordega dispatched M. Blondel, one of the Secretaries of Legation, and the Chancellor, M. Bertrand, to Wazan, to inquire into the claim of the Shereef on account of loss of property there caused by the proceedings of Governor Cid Mohammed Gebbar: these officers have been directed to take note of the names of all the dependents, and of the lands of the Shereef, not only at Wazan, but in other parts of the Gharb. It is reported that they have been authorized to proceed to the Moorish Court if proper attention is not shown to the demands they may put forward.

I learn confidentially from a reliable source that the Shereef talks openly of arming his numerous followers, and of resisting any attempt of the authorities to control his dependents. He declares that he has accepted French protection, as he foresees the downfall of the Sultan's power, and that this country must ere long fall into the hands of France, and that he will do all in his power to bring about that catastrophe.

Though the French Government will, no doubt, continue to afford satisfactory assurances to Her Majesty's Government regarding their desire to maintain the *status quo*, and not to give rise to complications by their action in Morocco, I will not conceal from your Lordship that I cannot believe in their sincerity so long as they allow, and apparently encourage, their Minister and officers to show an utter disregard or the independence of the Sultan and the authority of his officers. At any time, when least expected, it is to be apprehended that M. Ordega may take some extreme step from which the French Government will declare they cannot recede, knowing that public opinion in France would support them.

Under these circumstances, I venture to submit that no time should be lost in

coming to an understanding with other Powers regarding the maintenance of the integrity and independence of Morocco, occupying by its northern sea-board the passage to the Mediterranean for the shipping and commerce of all nations. If the Powers of Europe and America entered into an international arrangement by which the integrity of Morocco would be upheld and the independence of its Sovereign maintained, that would be a fitting time to require, and even to insist, that the Sultan and his Government should introduce reforms and improvements for the benefit of the civilized world, and open to foreign enterprise the great resources of this country, rich in agricultural produce and minerals.

I have not as yet acknowledged the receipt of the letter of the Vizier, but when I do so I shall simply request him to inform the Sultan that I have transmitted to Her Majesty's Government a translation of his communication.

It occurs to me to mention that it might be possible, if the Sultan was led to apprehend that neither Great Britain nor other Powers are disposed to come to his relief by taking steps to check the action of France, which has tended to paralyze his authority and to subvert all government in the country, His Shereefian Majesty, losing all hope, may come to the conclusion that his best policy will be to seek for the Protectorate of France, and thus remove for a time the prospect of his dominions being taken possession of and annexed to Algeria.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure in Annex.

The Vizier to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(Translation.)

(Secret.)

(After usual compliments.) *I Jumada* 15, 1301 (*March* 24, 1883).

YOU are aware, O esteemed friend, that famine, caused by years of dearth, has brought great distress and misery upon God's creatures in these dominions; and you must also know how all Regulations have been infringed, and in treating affairs all authority has been disregarded, until patience is lost, and it only remains for the enemy to lay his hands (upon the country). It is needless to make known to you what has occurred; it is manifest and known to all.

Our Lord the Sultan has ordered us to address you this secret communication, in order that you may write to your powerful Government and inform them of the grave prejudice which is suffered, and that you may solicit, in the name of His Shereefian Majesty, that steps be taken to ward off the danger that threatens these dominions, and stop the hand of the enemy being laid on.

His Shereefian Majesty is not inclined to seek for counsel in this matter except from them (Her Majesty's Government), as being the most friendly of friends, the most reliable of those to be relied on, and the most judicious, with whom counsel can be taken. How could it be otherwise? for the English were always the true and friendly allies of His Majesty's ancestors.

Let us know what you may write upon this subject.

Finished I Jumada 15, 1301.

(Signed) MOHAMMED BEN ALARBI BEN EL MUKHTAR.

No. 101.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 806. Confidential.) *Foreign Office, November* 27, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Mr. Kirby Green's No. 68 of October 27, 1886: *ante*, No. 94.]

No. 102.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Sir Clare Ford.

(No. 119. Confidential.) *Foreign Office, November* 27, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Mr. Kirby Green's No. 72, Confidential, of November 13, 1886: *ante*, No. 98.]

No. 103.

Mr. Ferro to the Earl of Iddesleigh.—(*Received November* 29.)

65, *Ockendon Road, London, November* 23, 1886.

My Lord,

HAVING an important communication to make to Her Majesty's Government relating to probable serious political complications in Morocco, and their bearing on Imperial interests in the Straits of Gibraltar, I have put it in the form of a letter addressed to Sir John Drummond Hay, late Minister Plenipotentiary at Tangier, and I beg to inclose the same for your Lordship's perusal. Sir John who, I believe, is at present in England, will be able to partly corroborate its contents, as likewise to give his authoritative opinion thereon.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ED. PORRO FERRO.

Inclosure 1 in No. 103.

Mr. Ferro to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

65, *Ockendon Road, London, November* 22, 1886.

Sir,

ALTHOUGH for some time absent from Morocco, I have not ceased to take the greatest interest in its political affairs, and, therefore, I have never failed to keep myself well informed on the subject, the more so that for years past I have been in the secret of the exact views and plans of those Powers who are well known to aspire to conquests in that country. Thus, I might have called Her Majesty's Government's attention to those plans before now; however, I did not consider myself justified, unless compelled by very pressing circumstances, in divulging matters which, besides being of a nature calculated to create international distrust, had been communicated to me confidentially.

In the present European crisis, and the serious international complications which might arise therefrom, one of the most perplexing of surprises for Her Majesty's Government would undoubtedly be a grave disturbance in the present state of things in the Straits of Gibraltar, and, consequently, whatever may contribute to prevent such a disturbance, specially a clear knowledge of the situation appertaining thereto cannot but prove of real interest.

There can be little doubt, besides, that the present state of international relations makes the execution of projects previously impracticable now possible and almost certain. These considerations, therefore, have decided me to depart from the reserve hitherto observed, explaining to your Excellency, without further delay, how that disturbance and consequent troubles may be brought about.

I have the honour to inclose a literal copy (I possess the original), of a project for a French Protectorate of the semi-independent States of Sus, from Santa Cruz de Agadir southwards.

The French Government conceived this project in 1850, and a secret Agent was then sent to Morocco to carry out the preliminary unofficial negotiations with the native Chief, Sidi Hescham. Fortunately my co-operation having been solicited by the said Agent, I being at the time in terms of intimate friendship with the said aforesaid native Chief, I had a most welcome opportunity of throwing difficulties in the way, thereby succeeding in warding off the danger until, happily, the important political events which at that period so rapidly succeeded each other in France, and above all, the marriage of Napoleon III with a Spanish lady, and his subsequent alliance with England against Russia, precluded, as a matter of course, any action on the part of France likely to give offence at London and Madrid, and, therefore, the project was abandoned.

That there could be no fear of any such project being revived so long as the late Emperor remained at the head of the French nation, I was at the time assured by M. Michel Chevalier, a gentleman in the confidence of his late Majesty, and relying upon this assurance, I deemed it best to abstain from making then any unnecessary communication on the subject, either to you or to the late Don Pedro Orfila. But at the same time, I have never lost sight of the parties who, under altered circumstances, might be in a position to attempt the revival of that project.

In 1880 I had reasons to suspect that some French scheme affecting Morocco was on foot, and on my visiting Paris, I learned that the same project for a Protectorate of Sus, even with improved methods of procedure for the seizure of Santa Cruz de

Agadir, had actually been revived and discussed with the then French Government who, however, did not consider the moment was the most opportune for carrying it into effect.

Subsequently, I ascertained that it had been decided to secure Tunis first.

Quite recently I have likewise been made acquainted that had M. Jules Ferry remained longer in power he would have found a pretext for taking possession of Santa Cruz de Agadir, and holding it as a base for further action in Sus. And, in short, that the realization of this old projet was now simply a question of waiting for a favourable opportunity.

The reasons which at present weigh with France to covet the possession of Santa Cruz de Agadir, and the littoral as far south as Porto Cansado, are various, and still more important than those which had moved her in 1850, but I must not enlarge upon this point now.

What seems most urgent to be considered at the present juncture is the fact that Santa Cruz de Agadir still exists as weak and as tempting as ever, and that, therefore, it may be seized at any moment either by France, or by a native Chief supported by her, which is the same.

It is also evident by the terms of the annexed project that France deems the possession of the fortress and excellent Bay of Santa Cruz de Agadir a *sine quâ non* condition to any further action of her in that part of Africa, and this being so, it follows that if Agadir can be made safe in the hands of the Sultan of Morocco, France must relinquish her project.

Perhaps, were it a question of the doings of France alone, and affecting only Sus, there might not be cause for much objection to her views and plans thereon: anything would be preferable to the present disgraceful state of that coast.

It is, however, when this French project is considered in connection with the action that Spain, in consequence thereof, is sure to take in regard to the rest of Morocco, that the affair becomes extremely serious as dangerously affecting England's status in the Straits of Gibraltar, which, such as it is, is not, to say the least, so good as of old.

Your Excellency is aware that I have good means for ascertaining the views of statesmen at Madrid, and even of knowing what goes on behind the scenes in that capital, and I can state with confidence that from the late General Narvaez to the present leading statesmen, I know exactly what has ever been their policy and aspirations respecting Morocco.

Spain naturally has always considered Morocco to be her fair share of Africa, and the only side through which she can conveniently extend when the increase of her population should compel her to seek new territory. But she looks to that extension as a remote contingency, and in every respect most undesirable at present. Unlike the rest of Europe, Spain, having plenty of elbow room, and much yet to do at home, is in no hurry to embark in an enterprise which, though not physically difficult, would certainly prove financially most unprofitable, at least, for a long time, and, therefore, a bar to the much-needed development of her own home resources.

Meanwhile, the proper time arrives, may be in two generations, or more, for her stepping into Morocco, Spain, as a necessary consequence of that policy, is anxious to maintain the *statu quo* in that part of Africa, and with this view she would always be disposed to induce the Moorish Government to act in such a manner as best calculated to attain that end, say, the continuance of His Shereefian Majesty's authority from the frontier of Algeria southwards to the Desert of Sahara. But, at the same time, the Government of Madrid knows too well that in this waiting policy their hands might be forced by the action of France, and, therefore, they have long since discussed the matter, and it has been decided that, in the event of France seizing upon any part of the seaboard of Morocco, Spain would have to follow suit, and, at all hazards, take possession of the rest.

Now, should this partition of Morocco came to happen, the question arises, could England allow such a vital change to take place in the Straits of Gibraltar? and, if not, could she effectually oppose both France and Spain, with, perhaps, some other Power at their back, and specially were this to occur at a time when she might have quite enough on her hands elsewhere?

With this picture in view, and it should be kept well in view since it might easily become a reality at any moment, and when least expected, what I wish to impress upon your Excellency is this: that while Her Majesty's Government may now be sure to meet with good-will and sincere co-operation on the part of Spain in any endeavours to remove the present danger threatening the integrity of Morocco

through this project of France upon Agadir and Sus, there could be no hope of any such *entente* with Madrid once the possession of that port by France became a *fait accompli*.

Spain, in that case, would make terms with France, preferring to secure the three-fourths of the spoil to none at all, it being out of the question to expect Spain taking common action with England for ousting France from Agadir by force of arms.

France, on the other hand, is willing to be most liberal with Spain in the partition of Morocco, partly because she cannot do otherwise, and also owing to her being thoroughly convinced that Spain would prove as profitable a neighbour in Africa as she is in Europe.

There are still other important details to be taken into consideration, upon which, however, I do not venture to comment in this document, but hope that I have said sufficient to show that in Mediterranean imbroglios there is just now something to look after on its western as well as on its eastern extremity, and I trust that this timely warning will enable Her Majesty's Government to devise (happily not very difficult) the means for averting the threatening danger.

In conclusion, I beg distinctly to state that in making this communication I am animated by the desire of rendering a service both to the United Kingdom and to Spain, agreeing most fully with your dictum that these two nations should always sail in the same boat in Moorish politics, and I may add, particularly at the present moment.

As regards France, any endeavour to remove an evil temptation from her path must prove in the end a real service to her.

Apologizing for the length of this letter, and prepared to amplify details at your Excellency's convenience, I have, &c.

(Signed) ED. PORRO FERRO.

Inclosure 2 in No. 103.

French Project for the Seizure of Santa Cruz de Agadir, and the establishment through that port of a Protectorate of Sus (North-West Coast of Africa), Morocco.

[Printed literally.]

Monsieur,

LA mission que je vous confie, et pour l'exécution de laquelle vous devrez user beaucoup de tact et de prudence, est à la fois politique et commerciale.

Vous connaissez un peu le Maroc, vous savez combien il est mal gouverné, comment le commerce y est entravée.

Malgre que le canon Français eut tonné plusieurs fois sur ces côtes inhospitalières, on doit considérer ce pays comme peu accessible à la civilisation.

L'intelligence et le désir de bien faire des Agents Français ont presque échoué jusqu'à ce jour devant cette force d'inertie que la ruse et le fanatisme Musulman opposent sans cesse à toute idée de progress. Peut-être aussi que la politique Anglaise, qui, jalouse et craint notre influence dans ce pays, contribue à maintenir l'Empereur du Maroc dans des dispositions qui doivent peu nous laisser espérer pour l'avenir de nos relations commerciales avec cette partie de l'Afrique.

Il nous faut, pour nous soustraire aux embarras commerciaux, qui sont suscités journellement par le Gouvernement Marrocain, ouvrir des relations commerciales avec les Chefs des populations qui sont au sud de Mogador et qui comprennent :—

1. Le pays de Haha.
2. Le Gouvernement de Sidi Hussein (Hescham).
3. Le pays commandé par Sheik Beyrouk.
4. Les populations qui occupent la côte entre le Cap Barbes et le Cap Noun.

Les marchandises qui composent la partie la plus importante et la plus riche de l'exportation des ports du Maroc, ne sont pas originaires de ce pays. Les gommes, les peaux de boeufs et de chèvres, la cire, les amandes, l'huile d'olive, les plumes des autruches, arrivent à Mogador par l'intermédiaire des populations que je viens d'indiquer, qui auraient un immense avantage à trouver sur leur côte le débouché des produits de leur sol. Les gommes viennent même de plus loin. Tombouctou, qui est un grand centre où aboutissent les caravanes en fournit à la fois à nos possessions Françaises du Senegal et au Maroc.

Vous serez penetré de l'importance des relations qui l'on peut établir dans ce pays à mesure que je vous développerai le but politique et l'avenir commercial de cette

côte, qui a été jusqu'à present à peu-prés inconnue moins à cause de la sauvaugerie des habitants que des difficultés du mouillage.

Je aborde en premier lieu la question politique; elle vous servira de point de depart et vous rendra plus intelligible la question commerciale que je traiterai ensuite en détail.

Le Gouvernement Français verrait avec sympathie un essai d'operations commerciales avec cette côte, qui nous metrait en rapport à peu-prés direct avec tout l'intérieur de l'Afrique. Un Traité a déjà été conclu en 1840 entre la France et le Sheik Beyrouk.

L'entreprise fut abandonné parce que le Commandant du brick de guerre, la "Malouine," chargé d'explorer toute cette partie de la côte à la recherche d'un port à ouvrir dans les États de Sidi Beyrouk, a déclaré n'avoir trouvés qu'une côte plus ou moins hérisée de brisants et point d'abri suffisant pour des navires de guerre.

Depuis longtemps Sidi Hussein (Hescham) et Sidi Beyrouk rêvent le Protectorat de la France, ils s'accomoderaient aussi bien de celui de toute autre nation, qui, en les aidant à ouvrir un port, les soustrairait à l'obligation d'envoyer leurs produits à Mogador.

A peu-près à la même époque ou Sidi Beyrouk traitait avec le Gouvernement Francais, il traitait aussi avec le Gouvernement Anglais, qui envoyait un brick de guerre avec des presents pour Sidi Beyrouk et la mission de faire avec lui un Traité de Commerce. Plus malheureaux que la "Malouine" le brick Anglais qui se trouva dans ces parages dans la plus mauvaise saison ne put aborder à Acassa à cause du gros temps.

Politiquement je considère qu'il n'y a rien à faire avec Sheik Beyrouk, soit parce que la côte qu'il aurait à nous offrir n'engagerait pas le Gouvernement Francais à y exposer des navires de guerre, soit parce que après avoir vu que ses Traités avec la France et avec l'Angleterre n'aboutissaient pas, il a pactisé avec l'Empereur du Maroc duquel il a obtenu la permission d'exporter une partie de ses produits par Mogador avec reduccion de droits.

Le seul protectorat possible est avec Sidi Hussein (Hescham), et la question est très delicate à traiter. En principe vous ne devez jamais engager ni compromettre le Gouvernement Francais.

Vous devez toujours présenter les conseils et les encouragements que donnerez à Sidi Hussein comme émanant de vous ou des commerçants qui vous envoient et qui desireux de le voir devenir un Prince puissant pour pouvoir traiter avec lui de grandes affaires, lui indiquent le moyen d'arriver.

Vous pourrez, en lui expliquant comme quoi les Traités faits par Sidi Beyrouk n'ont pas abouti, lui faire comprendre qu'il est certain qu'il échouera aussi dans ses tentatives de rapport direct avec le Gouvernement Français à cause des difficultés du mouillage.

(Santa Cruz de) Agadir est un port magnifique, le seul véritable port qui existe sur toute la côte nord-ouest de l'Afrique. Le bâteau-à-vapeur de l'État Français le "Newton" y est alle il y à quelques mois avec une mission hydrographique. Son commandant a été émerveillé de la beauté du lieu au point de vue de la sécurité, et de la facilité du mouillage. Agadir, ou Ste. Croix, fondé autrefois par les Portugais appartient aujourd'hui à l'Empereur du Maroc. Le port est fermé au commerce Européen depuis la fondation de Mogador qui date de soixante-dix ans environ.

L'Empereur refuse de l'ouvrir parce que la reoverture de l'exportation par ce point serait la ruine de Mogador.

La domination de Muley Abderrahman à Agadir est fort peu assise, quoiqu'il y entretienne un Caïd et quelques soldats en garnison.

Agadir est entouré de tribus plus ou moins hostiles à l'Empereur du Maroc, qui ne permettent pas toujours le passage des troupes pour le renouvellement de la garnison. Il paraît que ces mêmes tribus sont sous l'influence de Sidi Hussein (Hescham), et qu'il pourrait tenter avec succes un coup de main pour s'emparer d'Agadir, que Muley Abderrahman serait impuissant à reprendre.

Ce conseil donné à Sidi Hussein (Hescham) ne le surprenderait pas; il y songe depuis longtemps. L'Empereur le craint, et dans l'imposibilité où il est de faire parvenir par terre les troupes destinees à renforcer la garnison d'Agadir pour se defendre contre Sidi Hussein (Hescham), il a tenté d'en faire parvenir par mer en se servent des bateaux à vapeur de commerce Français qui font depuis peu le service du Maroc. Comme l'intéret des negociants à qui ces bateaux à vapeur appartiennent est de favoriser Sidi Hussein on a refusé, et on refusera à l'Empereur du Maroc le transport de ses troupes.

Si Sidi Hussein (Hescham) a sur les tribus qui l'entourent une autorité aussi forte et incontestée qu'il l'assure, il n'a qu'à oser pour s'emparer de Agadir. Vous pourrez en échange de ses produits et comme opération commerciale lui porter, s'il le demande, de la poudre et des armes en telle quantité qu'il le voudra, à l'heure qu'il est; les arsenaux Français mettent en vente à très bon marché beaucoup de fusils et de munitions.

Le Gouvernement Français qui ne traiterait pas actuellement avec Sidi Hussein (Hescham), parce qu'il n'a point de port à nous offrir, n'aurait pas à s'inquieter de ses luttes avec ses voisins. Comme le ferait tout Gouvernement neutre, il accepterait un fait accompli. J'ai tout lieu de supposer qu'il traiterait avec Sidi Hussein (Hescham) devenu Sultan d'Agadir, et la protection positive et efficace que le Gouvernement Français lui accorderait, portant dans le pays qui serait sous sa domination, à peu près tout le commerce qui fait aujourd'hui la richesse de Muley Abderrahman, Sidi Hussein rivaliserait avec avantage avec cet Empereur qui, mal conseillé, n'a pas pu reconnaître de quel côté étaient ses véritables intérêts.

Pour me résumer, il n'y a pas lieu pour Sidi Hussein (Hescham) à espérer de faire un Traité de Commerce avec le Gouvernement Français tant qu'il n'a pas ameilloré sa position en ayant un bon port pour communiquer et pour offrir un abri sur à nos navires de l'État. Comme il n'y a de port qu'Agadir l'avenir de Sidi Hussein (Hescham) est tout dans la possession de cette ville. Le jour où il s'en serait rendu maître, un de ses parents envoye en France serait reçu par le Gouvernement, qui écouterait ses ouvertures pour un Protectorat, et pour faire un Traité de Commerce. Jusque-là politiquement il n'y a rien à faire, et commercialement la tache sera plus difficile.

Je termine en vous répétant encore que vous devez présenter le projet à Sidi Hussein comme un conseil emmanant de vous et de moi, car je ne puis pas avoir aucune mission officielle pour traiter d'affaires aussi délicats, et que tout imprudence qui tendrait à compromettre le Gouvernement Français auprès de l'autorité Marrocain serait désavouée par lui.

[Here follows the commercial part of the same.]

No. 104.

Memorandum by Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(Confidential.)

THE copy of the letter, without date, inclosed in Mr. Ferro's letter to Sir J. H. Drummond Hay, containing instructions from some member of the French Government to an Agent, regarding the project of establishing a Protectorate in the Soos, appears to be genuine. The letter must have been written, however, thirty years ago, for Mulai Abderrahman is mentioned as being the Sultan at that time.

There is little doubt that the French have had, and still entertain, ambitious projects in Morocco, and on more than one occasion I reported to Her Majesty's Government that I had heard of French Agents being sent into the Soos country to induce the Chiefs to cede or open a port to French traders.

With this knowledge, and the frequent attempts made by Spanish, British, and latterly by German subjects to trade with the Soos, I had urged the Sultan to establish his authority in that province and to open Agadir and other sites as trading ports. This advice led to the campaigns in Soos of 1882, and 1886, though the success of the Sultan's arms has only been partial, for by last accounts that district remains in an unsettled state, and no port has yet been opened to trade.

One of the chief objections, I had always considered, to the British establishment at Cape Juby, and to Her Majesty's Government acknowledging it as a British Colony, was that it might give a pretext to France and other nations to take possession of sites on the Soos coast, where the Sultan's authority has always been of a doubtful character, and that in case the British Government were to support any remonstrance on the part of the Sultan, it might be said that they (the British Government) had set the example in sanctioning the retention of Cape Juby, which the Sultan declares is within his dominions, and that it was sold by one of His Shereefian Majesty's subjects, Sheikh Beyrouk, a Chief of the same family who had offered to sell a site to the French in past years.

Cid Hussein Ben Hashem, the Great Chief of the Soos country, died this year during the late campaign of the Sultan in Soos, and a feud sprung up between the

sons and relatives of that Chief, which by last accounts continues, and the country is in a very disturbed state.

I concur in the views expressed by Mr. Ferro regarding the action which the Spanish Government might be compelled to adopt in self-defence, should France take possession of any point in Morocco.

I believe that the Spanish Government and I know that M. Diosdado, their present Representative at Tangier, are opposed to projects of conquest and annexation in Morocco; but I am of opinion that they would be compelled, by the force of circumstances and public opinion in Spain, to come to terms with France in partitioning Morocco, should the latter Power commence the work of spoliation.

There is no doubt, in my mind, that M. Ferry had intended to establish a Protectorate in Morocco, as had been done in Tunis, and that the plan was thwarted, when a French squadron appeared in Tangier Bay to support the insurrection in Anjira and the pretensions of the Shereef of Wazan, who is a French protégé, by the active steps taken by the Sultan, at my advice, in rousing the attention of foreign Powers to the danger which threatened his independence and the integrity of his Empire.

I have no knowledge of any plan the present French Government may now have for carrying out ambitious projects in Morocco, but I should indeed be much surprised to learn that they had abandoned all hopes of becoming masters of the Straits and southern shores of the Mediterranean, should a fitting opportunity present itself when England and other Powers have their hands full. I have dwelt much upon this subject in my Reports in past years, for it appears to me that so long as the power, wealth, and even existence of the British Empire depend upon her shipping and the freedom of navigation, we cannot remain passive spectators, whilst two Powers like France and Spain were combining to make themselves masters of one of the most important passages leading to the Mediterranean and to our Eastern possessions.

I have on more than one occasion ventured to express a hope that Her Majesty's Government, when the question of the neutralization of the Suez Canal, &c., was on the *tapis*, should take advantage of the occasion to endeavour to come also to a formal understanding with other Powers to insure the integrity of Morocco, which commands the Straits of Gibraltar, and if such an understanding can be effected, to require that Morocco should be opened to trade, and that reforms and improvements should be introduced for the benefit of civilization and development of that fine country.

With regard to Agadir, which is no doubt the best port, and indeed the only harbour where there is some shelter for shipping on the west coast, I have to recommend that the Sultan should again be urged to open it to trade, and thus to meet the wishes of the Soos population, which would be the best mode of thwarting the designs of those who seek to encourage rebellion against the Sultan's authority in that province. In such case His Shereefian Majesty might arm the fort, which is naturally strong, with modern guns, and leave a garrison of disciplined troops and artillery in the place of the rabble which now occupies it.

I have to suggest that Mr. Green, on his approaching mission to the Moorish Court, should endeavour to find out whether M. Féraud, in his late visit, has thrown out any hints about the cession of a site to France on the coast of Soos, and he might also be enabled to learn through members of the Court, or perhaps through Cid Boubekhir, the language and proceedings of the Frenchmen* who visited Soos before and during the late campaign of the Sultan, and also of the French military officers who accompanied the expedition, and have hitherto acted as spies and agents of the French Government.

I am told that M. Castelen, on his late visit to Paris, held language regarding the common interests, he alleged, Spain and France had in Morocco, and that they should endeavour to act in concert in that country.

I have always thought it desirable that we should endeavour to induce Spain to pursue an identic policy with us in Morocco, and I think it might be advisable to come to a better understanding with that Power upon this subject, and to endeavour to ascertain whether the Spanish Government have knowledge of any fresh underhand proceedings of the French Government or its Agents in Morocco which might lead to complications hereafter.

The Italian Government and their Representative at Tangier, M. Scovasso, are

* One French traveller was disguised as a native Jew of Morocco, and travelled throughout the Soos.—J. H. D. H.

also much opposed to any attempt of the French to take possession of territory in Morocco.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

December 3, 1886.

No. 105.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Viscount Lyons.

Foreign Office, December 4, 1886.

(No. 828. Confidential.)

[Transmits copy of Sir Clare Ford's No. 118 of November 17, 1886: *ante*, No. 99.]

No. 106.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Sir J. S. Lumley.

Foreign Office, December 4, 1886.

(No. 319. Confidential.)

[Transmits copy of Sir Clare Ford's No. 118, Confidenial, of November 17, 1886: *ante*, No. 99.]

No. 107.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Mr. Kirby Green.

Foreign Office, December 4, 1886.

(No. 46. Confidential.)

[Transmits copy of Sir Clare Ford's No. 118, Confidential, of November 17, 1886: *ante*, No. 99.]

No. 108.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Mr. Scott.

Foreign Office, December 4, 1886.

(No. 547. Confidential.)

[Transmits copy of Sir Clare Ford's No. 118, Confidential, of November 17, 1886: *ante*, No. 99.]

No. 109.

Sir J. Pauncefote to Mr. E. Porro Ferro.

Foreign Office, December 7, 1886.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Earl of Iddesleigh to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of your letter of the 23rd ultimo, in regard to the designs of certain foreign Powers upon Morocco, and to state that the inclosure was forwarded to Sir. J. D. Hay.

I am, &c.

(Signed) JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.

No. 110.

Mr. Kirby Green to the Earl of Iddesleigh.—(*Received December* 13.)

Tangier, December 6, 1886.

(No. 76.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report, for your Lordship's information, that I learn from a trustworthy source that M. Féraud, the French Minister, has brought under the Sultan's notice a proposal that His Shereefian Majesty should build a public market-place outside the frontier town of Ouchda, and that this market should be administered by a French as well as a Moorish Governor.

M. Féraud, I believe, maintains that by this system of dual Government, or, as I understand he styles it, "faire la police à deux," all the differences that are continually arising between the natives of the frontier districts would be quickly and satisfactorily smoothed away.

I have no doubt that the proposal is intended to foreshadow and accustom the Sultan and his people with the idea of a French Protectorate of Morocco, but I have not thought it necessary to point out to the Moorish Government M. Féraud's real object.

The Sultan, left to himself, is sure to resist all proposals, be they what they may, and come they whence they may. There will be time enough to assist and encourage the Sultan in his resistanee, if expedient, when M. Féraud's proposals are put forward not as counsels but as commands.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 111..

Mr. Kirby Green to the Earl of Iddesleigh.—(*Received December* 25.)

Tangier, December 14, 1886.

(No. 79. Confidential.)

My Lord,

IN Sir Clare Ford's despatch No. 118, Confidential, of the 17th ultimo, a copy of which your Lordship has done me the honour of communicating to me through your Lordship's despatch No. 46, Confidential, of the 4th instant, it is said that Señor Moret, the Spanish Minister of State, had expressed the wish to confer some day with him (Sir Clare Ford) on the subject of the interests of the foreign Powers in Morocco.

In view of this expected conversation between Señor Moret and Her Majesty's Representative, I venture to trouble your Lordship with a few remarks which have occurred to me since my arrival here as to Spanish policy and interests in Morocco.

Until French action in Tunis alarmed the Spanish Government, the Representative of Spain here played the part of a champion of progress, and essayed to impose himself on the Moorish Government as holding an exceptional and preponderating position over the other foreign Representatives.

Now the Spanish Legation declares that it has no other policy but to maintain the integrity of the Moorish Empire at any price. This would be a satisfactory change, provided it was intended to be permanent and was being pursued with intelligence. But I do not believe that it is at all likely to be of any duration, nor do I think that it is being followed up in an enlightened manner.

I infer that M. Diosdado, the Spanish Minister here, has taken up the cry of the maintenance of the *status quo* in Morocco, not because he wishes his Government to give up all proclivities of annexation, but in order to secure support among foreign Governments in checking the ripening designs of France, and which he fears may come to a head before those of Spain have even germinated. I fear, indeed, the desire to support the Sultan's rule has nothing healthy in it. It is prompted by the feeling that what the Spaniard cannot carry out or digest must lie useless for all others.

Therefore, when Señor Moret wishes to consider the interests of all foreign Powers in Morocco, I should be disposed to hold him to defining clearly that he is prepared to admit that there are general interests, and that those of Spain are not to be accorded an exceptional position. It would also be well to let him understand that, whilst persistence in the *status quo* is impossible, the maintenance of the integrity of the Empire of Morocco is most desirable.

The general foreign interests in this country—with the sole exception of those of France, Spain having now adhered to the majority—are the development of its great natural resources without giving rise to any changes of the present territorial tenure, improvement of Moorish rule, and perfect equality of advantages for the subjects of all nations.

I am excessively suspicious as to the object of the Spanish Government in endeavouring to give a fictitious value to its material interests in Morocco. Though, in fact, its commerce and navigation with this country come a very long way behind those of Great Britain, and even of France, which is a bad second to the first, we see the Spanish authorities at Tangier and other Moorish ports supplying their scanty and squalid communities with all the paraphernalia of the most busy and thriving commercial centres. Here, at Tangier, within but a short space of time, the Spanish officials have called into existence a Chamber of Commerce, a Life-saving Institute, a hospital, a college for propagating the healing art, and several other analogous undertakings.

Contracts with Steam-ship Companies for increasing the mail service with Spain are talked of, and in the Spanish press the Spanish commercial community here is depicted as on a par with those of the Peninsula in London and New York.

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Nevertheless, as I have already intimated, these Spanish commercial and other institutions in Morocco may be fitly styled as paper ones, and have probably been merely established or talked of, under Government patronage, in order to keep up a fiction in political circles of preponderant Spanish interests.

If Señor Moret arrogates for Spain a footing of superiority here, Sir Clare Ford will know on what grounds it is assumed, and its real worth.

Her Majesty's Representative at Madrid should also bear in mind that, whilst the policy of maintaining the integrity of the Moorish Empire would be most valuable, the attempt to confuse that policy with that of supporting the Moorish Government in all its present vices and ultra-retrograde tendencies would be mischievous, impracticable, and disastrous.

Señor Diosdado, the Spanish Minister in Morocco, is thus confusing the two policies. In his alarm that the Sultan may be induced by France to accept French protection and guidance, he thinks the Sultan must not be disheartened in his endeavours to exclude himself from foreign encroachments by finding all the foreign Representatives urging him towards progress.

The general interests of foreign Powers in Morocco, I am sure, would be better served, and the Sultan's power abroad and over his own people permanently strengthened and consolidated, if His Shereefian Majesty could hear but united counsels from the foreign Representatives—counsels that should be pressed in a manner that could not be evaded, and which would quickly do away with all the present iniquities and anomalies of the Moorish administration.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 112.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Viscount Lyons.

(No. 870.) *Foreign Office, December* 25, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Mr. Kirby Green's No. 76 of December 6, 1886: *ante*, No. 110.]

No. 113.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Sir J. S. Lumley.

(No. 333. Confidential.) *Foreign Office, December* 28, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Mr. Kirby Green's No. 76 of December 6, 1886: *ante*, No. 110.]

No. 114.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Sir E. Malet.

(No. 569. Confidential.) *Foreign Office, December* 28, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Mr. Kirby Green's No. 76 of December 6, 1886: *ante*, No. 110.]

No. 115.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Sir Clare Ford.

(No. 131. Confidential.) *Foreign Office, December* 28, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Mr. Kirby Green's No. 76 of December 6, 1886: *ante*, No. 110.]

No. 116.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Sir J. Drummond Hay.

(Confidential.) *Foreign Office, December* 28, 1886.

[Transmits copy of Mr. Kirby Green's No. 76 of December 6, 1886: *ante*, No. 110.]